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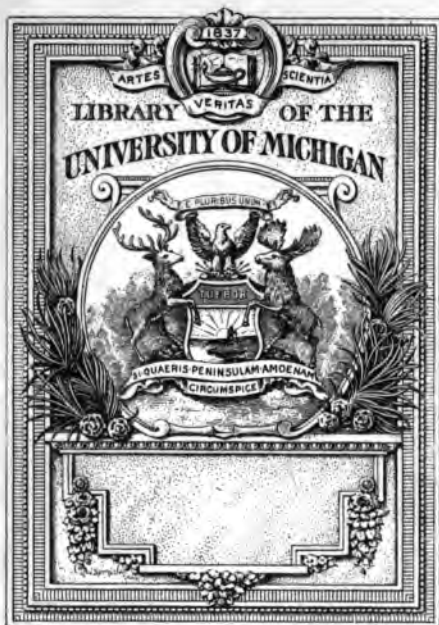
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LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

ALBRECHT
DÜRER

L. JESSIE ALLEN



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LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

GENERAL EDITOR: CYRIL DAVENPORT

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Albrecht Dürer.
Self portrait. 1500.

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ALBRECHT DÜRER

BY

L. JESSIE ALLEN₂

WITH FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

1903

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PREFACE

TO write on Albrecht Dürer, whose life and works have been so fortunately and exhaustively described by his own compatriots, might well be looked on as superfluous. But perhaps the excuse can be offered that to some readers the condensed form of this little book, on whose pages are recorded the most important works of his genius, the chief events of his life, may prove acceptable.

These pages gladly offer a slight tribute to the lasting work, true genius, and charming personality of the great German mediæval painter; to the marvellous energy, untiring hand and virile mind that, whether working amongst his familiar friends under the sheltering walls of the Imperial City, or seeking new ideas in strange lands, ever sought to carry out his favourite axiom, that "Art lies in Nature."

L. J. A.

LONDON, 1903

DÜRER

CHAPTER I

ART IN NÜRNBERG IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The importance and prosperity of the Imperial city during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries—Beauty of the ancient Gothic city—Reformation days—Welcome to Luther and Melanchthon—Trading and art centre of the empire—Men of science attracted to Nürnberg—Architecture and art in Dürer's day—Michael Wolgemut, painter—Preponderance of Gothic art—Art among the people—Dürer as pioneer of art—The Council and patricians of Nürnberg—Nürnberg inventions—The Meistersingers and Hans Sachs—Wilibald Pirckheimer and men of letters—Kaiser Maximilian as patron of the arts.

THE free Imperial city of Nürnberg was at the height of her prosperity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This period was equally conspicuous in the art records of the city, as of importance in her commercial and municipal prosperity.

Art and science had taken root in the

ancient mediæval city, supported by the patrician families who largely encouraged the sciences, by her merchants who brought from their trading journeys to Antwerp and Venice examples of Flemish and Italian art. Again it developed under the hands of the artist-craftsmen who in a remarkable manner imbued their daily work with such a fine sense of art that they produced, through strenuous work, some of the chief masterpieces in stone-carving and wrought-iron work.

No town has preserved so completely its ancient mediæval aspect as Nürnberg, this fascinating city of the arts and crafts, that charms her modern lovers back into the old-world days, when "Nürnberg's hand went through all the land"; when Kaiser Maximilian held his gay court at the Burg, in whose reign and in that of his immediate successor, Karl V., the greatest of Nürnberg's sons lived and worked.

The picturesque fortifications, the sheltering walls with their many-turreted towers, the famous "Luginsland" and "Heidenthurm" that flank the castle, the stately Gothic churches and ancient red-roofed houses that line the banks of the Pegnitz, the quaint bridges that span her clouded waters, the

ornate mansions of the chief patrician families of the city, still remain sufficiently intact to throw the glamour of Gothic art and historical association across the streets of the Kaiserstadt. The beautiful fountains in her squares, the churches that were filled with pictures, ironwork, and stone-tracery, the creations of her citizen Meisters and their craftsmen, who offered their daily prayers surrounded by the art-work of their fellow-burghers.

Nürnberg at an early period embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, welcoming Luther and Melanchthon within her gates; her religious, patriotic citizens became hearty advocates of the men who were striving to free them from the tyranny and corruption of the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church. A remarkable feature of the Reformation days in this city is, that the sturdy common sense, combined with the innate love of art, of these sons of Nürnberg made them capable of introducing the reformed doctrines and simpler ritual of the new faith into their churches, without thinking it necessary to tear down or deface the works of art that had been dedicated to the older beliefs of their ancestors.

From the fourteenth century onwards the city of Nürnberg can show, by the beautiful

stone and iron work that adorns the old houses and streets, the artistic feeling of the forefathers of the men who were so celebrated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The commerce of the city during the Middle Ages made her, with Augsburg and Ulm, the chief centre of trade of the empire, whose communications with the German colony of merchants at Venice and of the Flemish cities brought the city into contact with the classic revival of the Renaissance of the south, as much as with the development of the schools of art in Antwerp, Mechlin, and Brussels. Nürnberg, by her trading arteries that ran through the kingdom, became as the living pulse and heart of the country, giving rise to the old distich, "Nürnberg's hand goes through all the land." Men like Johannes Muller, the great mathematician, whose most famous pupil, Martin Behaim, constructed the first globe of the world, were induced to settle in the Franconian city by the facilities afforded them of obtaining scientific instruments.

At the time of Albrecht Dürer's birth the city was already adorned with many of her finest buildings. The churches of St. Sebald the patron saint of Nürnberg, of St. Lorenz, and the Marienkirche had been completed

after many centuries' work—lasting monuments of Gothic art. The shrine of St. Sebald, a miracle[•]of fine ironwork, was in course of construction by Meister Peter Vischer, who for thirteen years laboured at this, his masterpiece, completing it, with the devoted help of his five sons, in 1519. One hundred and fifty-seven hundredweight of iron is contained in this shrine. St. Lorenz, Nürnberg's most beautiful church, had just received Meister Adam Krafft's ornate "Sacramentshauslein," or ambry for the sacred elements. The life-size figures that support the lace-like traceries of this tapering stone shrine are portraits of Adam Krafft and his apprentices.

Among the painters, Michael Wolgemut, who became Albrecht Dürer's master in 1486, was at the head of the school of painting in Nürnberg, which had been founded on the tradition of the masters of Köln. This school of painting of Central Germany gradually became influenced by Flemish art, chiefly through Martin Schöngauer, the painter of Colmar. The plain gold backgrounds began to be replaced by landscapes or interiors, the method and manner of the Van Eyck brothers was slowly making itself felt.

Although Nürnberg was connected by her

commerce with Flemish and Italian cities, art on the whole developed but slowly among the painters, when compared with these more favoured countries. The northern genius was still absorbed in the Gothic spirit, which chiefly expressed itself in stone and iron work. Gothic architecture did not need the coloured mural decorations that had played so large a rôle in the scheme of ornamentation of the large wall spaces of Byzantine and Romanesque architecture of the south.

The masters of Gothic architecture broke up their wall spaces with many pointed windows, enriched with fine mouldings and traceries, or obtained colour decoration from their stained-glass windows, whose many-coloured inlays filled the mysterious aisles with fantastic, ever-shifting colour.

The legitimate art of the painter was confined to the triptychs of the altars, which were usually votive offerings, including the portrait of the donor. The faithfulness of the portrait and high finish of the picture was more esteemed than broad pictorial effect. Northern artists were not called on to execute large subjects in fresco on large spaces, their work at this period was almost entirely confined to studio pictures.

At the close of the Middle Ages, in Germany art had found its home among the people, and was striving quietly and serenely behind city walls, fostered by the burghers, who were embellishing their churches and houses with quaint and precious works of art, or occasionally executing a grander commission for Kaiser or princes of the land.

Art in Germany had, therefore, become one with the people, while the first wave of the Italian Renaissance was reaching the shores of Gothic tradition. This movement began to show itself among the people in a deep desire to find out and to know things for themselves, to penetrate more into the mysteries of life. The people wished to think independently, the "ergo" became the most fascinating study of the moment, with its various and complex sides. Art responded by striving to move out of the traditional circle of ideas ascribed to her by the Church, and was eager to emphasise the new doctrines of the Reformers, to forward the study of the humanities, as well as to share in the general revival of art and science.

It is under this aspect that Dürer and his work should especially be studied; as the pioneer of his day, who proceeded to break through the worn traditions that had inspired

the lifeless but devotional pictures of the traditional saints of the churches. He introduced independent thought and life into his drawings, which are studied directly from the life. Determined to depict Nature as he saw her around him, even though she should be uncouth and rather over-homely, Dürer was the man of his time ; the thinker and student, as well as the artist, his ideas crowd his canvas and people every corner of his famous engravings, that teem with energy and mystery, combined with a naïve simplicity of construction.

Nürnberg in Dürer's day was governed by her patrician families, under their supreme head the Kaiser. From the patricians and from a few of the most important burgher families the Councillors, or "Elteren Herrn," were elected, only a small share in the government of the city being allowed to the craftsmen.

The Council seems on the whole to have ruled the city with generosity and wisdom, and to have manfully upheld her freedom and ancient rights against any too encroaching Markgraf or even Kaiser.

The patrician families encouraged art, science, and the study of the classics. Painters and

engravers, printers and bookbinders found congenial homes on the banks of the Pegnitz, as well as the celebrated bronze and iron founders, sculptors, and stonemasons. The first printer and publisher of the city, Anton Koberger, Albrecht Dürer's godfather, was celebrated far and wide. The first German playing-cards were printed from blocks, or painted by hand, in Nürnberg. The work of their goldsmiths was renowned throughout the empire, while the beauty of the stained-glass windows of the period can still be seen in the Tucher and Volkamer windows in the St. Lorenz church, dated respectively 1457 and 1493; or the Maximilian window of 1514 in St. Sebald. Gunsmiths, armourers, locksmiths, and clockmakers all claim their places in the artist-crafts of the city. The famous "Nürnberg eggs," the first watches made by Peter Henlein, date from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The importance of the Nürnberg school of painting was much advanced at this time by the art of printing from woodblocks, which gave the artists a cheap and rapid method of reproducing their work, with a consequent rapid sale of their prints, both of sacred and secular subjects, among the people. The

caustic wit for which Nürnberg was famous found a ready market in illustrated leaflets, which pointed the biting satire of the day with no light hand.

Any glimpse at Nürnberg life, however brief, must not omit to notice one of the most interesting of Albrecht Dürer's contemporaries, the Meistersinger Hans Sachs, the town's well-beloved "Cobbler-Poet," the genial master who worked and sang, wrote and rhymed, chaffed and laughed according to the rules of the Guild of Meistersingers. This curious confraternity of singers, a unique production of the cities of Germany in the Middle Ages, exercised much influence. The "singing schools" materially aided in the education, and inculcation of manners and morals into the minds of the apprentices, as the rules of their guild enforced strict regard to truth and blameless living, as well as learning to sing according to the many methods and rules drawn up on their "Tabulator," their code of procedure. They taught the honest hand-worker that after the day's toil was over there was still time to improve his mind, to exercise his intellect in the arts of rhyming and singing. Hans Sachs' name is firmly and lovingly linked with his city of Nürnberg, within whose

sheltering walls, during the years of his long and busy life, he is said to have written no less than four thousand Meistersongs. The names of Hans Sachs and of Martin Luther have become bound together as the writers of the people's songs and hymns of the sixteenth century.

Among the patrician families of the city the name of Pirkheimer is closely interwoven with Albrecht Dürer's life. Wilibald Pirkheimer, a man of energetic temperament, was scholar and statesman, writer, student, and soldier. His fine house and library in the Herren Strasse was the centre of the intellectual life of the city, the chief gathering-place of the Humanists. Kaiser Maximilian was a frequent guest when at the Burg, while men like Conrad Celtes the mathematician, Eobanus Hesse the poet, the Reformers Luther and Melanchthon, or Ulrich von Hutten, known as the Knight of the Reformation, were amongst the remarkable men whom Dürer met in daily intercourse under his lifelong friend's hospitable roof.

Kaiser Maximilian, "the Last of the Knights," as he was called by his people, is an imposing figure on the pages of the book of Nürnberg's history, not only because of his exalted rank, but also for his love and culture of the arts, as

well as the patronage he bestowed on Dürer and other Nürnberg artists. Kaiser Maximilian loved his free city of Nürnberg, where he was often in residence at the Burg, the ancient castle that has remained almost unchanged to this day.

We recognise the same fantastic line of towers and walls outlined against the sky that we see in the background of many of Dürer's prints. In the castle courtyard stands the lime tree said to have been planted by the hand of Kunigunde, Kaiser Heinrich II.'s queen, in 1024, under whose spreading branches were held the Courts of Justice. At the foot of the castle hill, right under the great walls, stands the gabled Dürer Haus, where the great artist, whose name has made Nürnberg famous for all time, lived, worked, and concluded his labours. Dürer, the first of the northern artists who made Nature his inspiration, as he writes in one of his books: "Wahrhaftig steckt die Kunst in der Natur, wer sie heraus kann reisen, der hat sie" (Truly art lies in Nature, he who can extract it has attained art).

CHAPTER II

ALBRECHT DÜRER'S EARLY DAYS

Albrecht Dürer the elder—His trade and place of birth—He becomes a citizen of Nürnberg—Marriage to Barbara Holper—The Dürer family in Nürnberg—Albrecht Dürer's birth, 1471—Wilibald Pirckheimer's birth, 1470—Dürer's early days—His first drawings—Apprenticeship to Michael Wolgemut in 1486—Portrait of his father, 1490, with the monogram—Dürer's "Wanderjahre"—Dürer's landscape studies—His portrait of 1493.

ALBRECHT DÜRER the elder was a native of a small village called Eytas, a German settlement in Hungary, where the chief industry of the place, as in so many of the towns and villages of the great Danubian plain, was horse and cattle breeding.

Dürer the Elder was a goldsmith by trade, who, while still a young man, travelled into Germany, and thence to the Netherlands, where he was "received among the great artists," as his famous son records later in his notebook. This young goldsmith came eventually

to Nürnberg, in 1465, on St. Eulogius' Day, arriving in the Imperial city while a dance was being held under the linden tree in the castle courtyard, to celebrate the marriage feast of Philip Pirkheimer, the eldest son of the patrician family of Pirkheimer, in Nürnberg. The life and gaiety of the scene appeared to be a fair omen to the young wanderer, the opulent display of jewellery and silver plate made by the citizens pointed to a good field for his trade. This slight circumstance turned out to be the guiding finger of fate that was destined to give Nürnberg one of her greatest sons. The young goldsmith decided to seek employment in the city that had accorded him a genial, if unconscious, welcome, and shortly afterwards entered the workshops of Hieronymus Holper. Here he must have found favour with the "Meister" goldsmith, for soon after he married his daughter Barbara, aged fifteen, in the year 1467, while a year later we find that he is enrolled as "Meister" of his craft, and burgher of the free city of Nürnberg.

The Dürer family are now located in the Winkler Strasse, in a small house at the back of the courtyard of the Pirkheimer mansion, known as the "Pirkheimer hinter-

haus." Here were born to the goldsmith and his young wife Barbara eighteen children, whose names and birthdays are all recorded in a family book, as well as the names of their respective god-parents. Of this long family Albrecht Dürer was the third child and second son. His birth is entered in the family book in these words: "At six o'clock on St. Prudentius' day, the Friday in Holy Week, 1471, my housewife bore another son, to whom Anthony Koburger stood godfather, and named him after me, Albrecht."

A few months earlier, on December 5th, 1470, the patrician house of Pirkheimer was the scene of rejoicing at the birth of an only son and heir, Wilibald Pirkheimer, whose name has become indissolubly linked with that of Albrecht Dürer. Destiny brought the goldsmith to Nürnberg on the day of the Pirkheimer wedding; fate again coupled the boys of the next generation in a friendship that endured till the severing of the tie by death.

Dürer the elder was a respected burgher and clever workman, but his numerous family evidently prevented him from doing more than provide for the wants of his household. The son tells us that "my father's life was passed in great struggles and in continuous hard

work. With my dear mother bearing so many children he never could become rich, as he had nothing but what his hands brought him. He had thus many troubles, trials, and adverse circumstances."

Albrecht Dürer lived in the Pirkheimer hinterhaus till he was five years old, and was, no doubt, Wilibald's playmate and friend in those early days, probably sharing many of his friend's superior advantages. In 1476 the Dürer family removed to a new house, 493, Unter der Vesten, having inherited some money on the death of Holper, Frau Barbara's father. This house was near that of Anton Koburger, the godfather, as well as those of the artists Wolgemut and Sebald Frey.

The boy Albrecht was at first destined to follow his father's trade, so on leaving school took his place in the workshop, receiving here his first instruction in line and form. He was an apt pupil who made rapid progress under his father's tuition, for he says: "I began to do well in my work, but my love was for painting much more than for the goldsmith's craft. When at last I began to tell my father of my inclination he was not pleased, thinking of the time I had been under him as lost, if I turned painter. But he let me have my will, and in

the year 1486, on St. Andrew's Day, November 30th, he bound me apprentice to Meister Michael Wolgemut, to serve him for three years."

Michael Wolgemut, Albrecht Dürer's master, was born in 1434; he was a contemporary of the artist Martin Schöngauer, of Colmar, one of the best-known painters of the period. Wolgemut was a follower of the school and manner of Van Eyck, and is thought to have been the founder of the Nürnberg school of engraving, and to his studio should probably be traced the fine copper engravings, signed with a capital W, that have sometimes been ascribed to Dürer, or to another artist called Wenzel.

As a painter Wolgemut is characterised by clear and somewhat gorgeous colouring, by his firm and sharp lines, as well as by knowledge of the anatomy of the human figure. He is better known to posterity as Albrecht Dürer's master than from his own pictures, or from his portrait in the Pinakothek at Munich, painted by Dürer's hand in the year 1516. There is an inscription on this picture which states: "Das hat albrecht durer abconterfeyt nach sinen lehrmeister michel wolgemut im Jor 1516, und er war 82 jor, und hat gelebt

pis das man zelet 1519 Jor, do ist er ferschieden an sant endres dag fur e dy sun auffgyng.” (This Albrecht Dürer did of his master in the year 1516, when he was 82 years old, and he lived till one counted the year 1519, when he died on St. Andrew’s Day early, before the sun rose.)

Dürer owed his early correct drawing to the good teaching of his master, who, no doubt, also imparted to him his love of the study of anatomy and proportion, which was so prominent and developed a characteristic in later years of the greater artist. That Dürer regarded his master with respect is evident from many allusions he makes to him. He writes in his little book that “the apprentices made him suffer many things,” but also remarks, “during this time God gave me industry so that I studied well.” No doubt the dreamy, sensitive lad was teased by his less gifted fellow-pupils, jealous of his talent and quick progress.

The earliest work that has come down to us from Albrecht Dürer’s own hand is in the Albertina Collection at Vienna. This is a portrait of himself drawn in silver-point on tinted paper. It has the following interesting inscription from his own hand across the top : “ Das

hab ich aus einem spiegel nach mir selbst konterfeit im Jahr 1484, da ich noch ein kind war. Albrecht Dürer." (This I copied from myself out of a looking-glass, in the year 1484, while I was still a child. Albrecht Dürer.) This portrait shows in a marvellous manner "the child as father of the man." In spite of his boyish and untrained hand, he has succeeded in fixing the characteristics of his face on the paper; the soft, dreamy eyes, the quiet look of strength, the well-formed mouth, all indicate, though still in embryo, the strength and beauty of the fine head that is familiar to us from his later portraits.

Another drawing, executed in 1485, is perhaps a still more remarkable effort of the goldsmith's apprentice, who seems to have already mastered the rudiments of his art. This is a pen-and-ink drawing of the Virgin and Child, enthroned under a canopy between two angels who hold musical instruments. This drawing is in the Print Room of the Berlin Museum. In spite of the uncertain drawing of the Child's body, as well as of the Virgin's hands and arms, the composition is pleasing, the head of the Virgin is soft and sympathetic, and the angels with their lute and harp are graceful figures. The little com-

position has a fascinating air of spontaneity and freshness as youthful as the creative hand of the little artist. The Gothic style of the sharp-cornered draperies is distinctive of the school of Wolgemut and northern art of the period.

We can study another specimen of the work of Dürer's boyish hand in the Print Room of the British Museum. It is a pencil study, a full-length figure of a girl, with a high cap and long veil, holding a falcon on one hand. It is, unfortunately, much rubbed, but has an interesting inscription written down the left side of the paper: "Das ist awc alt, hat mir Albrecht Dürer gemacht als er zum malen kam in des Wolgemut's hus. Uff den oberen boden in dem hintern hus, wi biwisen Cunrat Lomayer seliger." (This is also very old. Albrecht Dürer did it for me when he came to paint in Wolgemut's house. In the top attic of the back house, as certified by Cunrat Lomayer, deceased.)

On the 30th of November, 1486, Dürer was apprenticed to Michael Wolgemut for three years, beginning his regular painting studies in his studio. The little sketch of the girl just mentioned seems to have been done in stolen intervals or free times when the boy slipped

away from his father's workshop to the big attic at the top of the Wolgemuts' house to copy his own face or any object or person that came handy. Now having obtained his dearest wish, we must imagine the lad working away with the energy and perseverance which was so natural to him, making such rapid progress in his art that the important picture, the portrait of his father, now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, was completed during his last year in his master's studio. The fine features of his father are drawn with decision, the head is firmly modelled, the lines of the figure are simple and harmonious and well placed in the canvas. This portrait has unfortunately suffered much from time; the distinctive brushwork has been lost by the retouching to which it has been subjected, leaving it hard and dry in tone. The clean-shaven face shows handsome features with large and well-opened eyes. A high fur cap, dark cloak, and dark background throw the head into strong relief. The hands just show, holding a rosary.

This picture is dated 1490, with the celebrated Dürer monogram, used here for the first time, a large open A enclosing a smaller D. On the reverse side of this panel the

Dürer coat-of-arms is painted ; the Dürer or Thürer, open doors surmounted by a Moor's head, derived according to the canting heraldry of the times from a play on the name Dürer or Thürer, and a stag, the cognisance of the Holper family.

This portrait of Dürer the elder well bears out the word-picture of his beloved father that Dürer wrote in his day-book. He says : " He led an honourable Christian life, was a patient, gentle man, living in peace with everyone and thanking God continually. He had no desire for many worldly pleasures, was a man of few words, not caring much for society, but was a God-fearing man. This my dear father was untiring in his endeavours to bring up his children to honour God ; for his highest wish was that his children should be pleasing both to God and man ; therefore he used to tell us every day that we should love God and be true in our dealings with our neighbours." These loving words, combined with the portrait, have painted an unforgettable sketch of the honest, God-fearing citizen who moulded the early character of his much-loved son.

" And when I had served my time my father sent me away, and I remained away four years, till my father recalled me home ; and

as I left in the year 1490 after Easter, I returned after Whitsuntide of the year 1494."

These few simple words recount laconically enough Dürer's first venture into the world to complete his studies by the usual "Wanderjahre" of the German apprentice who had served his time. They are unfortunately the only record from his pen, at this early period of his life, that give any precise account of his movements in the various towns and countries he must have visited.

Christopher Scheurl, a friend and neighbour of his father and of Wolgemut, in Nürnberg, says that "Dürer, after ending his apprenticeship, wandered through Germany, reaching Colmar in 1492, where he was hospitably received by the brothers Schöngauer, the artist and the goldsmiths Caspar and Paul, and again at Basle by the fourth brother, Georg the goldsmith." It is generally considered that Dürer reached Venice during these Wanderjahre before returning to his native land. From a letter written later, in 1506, by the same Christopher Scheurl, we learn that "when he (Dürer) came back to Italy he was received as a second Apelles." While Dürer was in Venice in 1506, in one of his letters to Nürnberg he alludes to Gian Bellini as if he had known him

before: "He is very old, but still the best painter," and "that thing, which pleased me well eleven years ago, pleases me no more, and if I had not seen it myself I would not have believed it." This is evidently alluding to some piece of painting or art work over which, in the interval, he had quite altered his opinion.

We know Dürer travelled through the Tirol from his studies and sketches of landscapes and places. A view of "Insprug" is in the Albertina at Vienna, the "Fenediger Klausen" at the Louvre, a "Welsch-schloss" is in the Hausmann Collection at Brunswick, while a sketch of the Castle of Trient is in the Malcolm Collection.

Dürer must be considered as the first landscape painter who studied directly from nature, or who devoted himself to reproduce with care the beauty and poetry contained in a truthful representation of a fine scene—the varied charm of colour, line, or atmosphere.

A study of a fir tree in water-colours, signed with his monogram, as well as a study of the face of a precipice, in which trees and sparse vegetation cling to the reddish rocks, can be studied in the Print Room of the British Museum, as well as the sketch of "Das

Weiher-haus” (Fish-pond house) near Nürnberg, which Dürer introduced [as the background of his engraving of the “Virgin with the Monkey.” This little sketch has the Dürer monogram and “Weiher-haus” written across it. This crude little water-colour shows a large pond with a flat-bottomed boat moored in the foreground; on the further bank stands a quaint little house with a turret, amongst trees and rushes, probably the home of the “Fischmeister.”

These landscape sketches are not the only record we possess of Dürer’s Wanderjahre, for we have his own portrait painted in oils, dated 1493, which shows us the young artist in fashionable attire with a sprig of eryngo in his hand. No trace of the “Wanderbursche” is left in this elegant young man. It would be interesting to know where or in whose studio it was painted.

This portrait was seen and much admired by the great German poet Goethe, who described it at length as follows : “Almost priceless, I considered, was this portrait of Albrecht Dürer, painted by himself, dated 1493, therefore in his twenty-second year. Half life-size, head and shoulders, showing the hands. A rich purple cap with short tassels, the neck

bare to below the collar-bone, an embroidered linen shirt with sleeves and front laced with peach-coloured ribbon, over which is thrown a bluish-grey furred mantle; in short, a fashionably dressed young man. In his hand he carries a sprig of blue eryngium, called 'Men's Fidelity.' An earnest, youthful face, with signs of hair on chin and lip. The whole picture admirably drawn, rich, pure and harmonious in its proportions, entirely worthy of Dürer, highly finished although painted very thinly. The picture bears the date 1493 in large figures on the background with this distich: 'Min sach die gat, wie es oben schat' (My affair progresses, as this picture confesses)."

The great poet was an ardent admirer of Dürer's genius. He said: "I honour daily more and more the work of a man which cannot be valued in gold and silver; of one, who when we know him thoroughly, has only the greatest Italians as his compeers in truth, sublimity, or even grace; but this we will not say aloud."

This is a fine appreciation from the great German master of word and thought to the early German master of the burin and brush. Goethe gauges the inner spirit of Albrecht

Dürer's conceptions, the immense suggestiveness of his subjects, and in so doing could place him as high as the great Italian artists. Goethe was content to recognise the truth and fidelity to nature of Dürer's work, the beauty of the soul still striving to free itself from the conventional mediæval traditions by which it was surrounded. He could thus appreciate the greatness of his art, although it lacked the luxuriant and smiling beauty of southern lands which Italian artists have received as their birthright, the survival of the pagan cult of joy and beauty.

The "grim invention" of Dürer's art, as a modern English writer has it, no doubt strikes many as being the prevailing characteristic of his work, especially as seen in his wood-engravings, where Dürer is as much the teacher as the artist; absolutely as convinced of the importance of his subject as of his intention to faithfully reproduce life as he saw it, searching to achieve the beautiful by truth of line.

"Beauty, what that is I know not, but of this I am convinced, that Art dwells in Nature; he who can pluck it out to him it is given. There is no man on earth who can positively affirm what constitutes the perfection of human

beauty. No one but God knows that, and he to whom God reveals it." So moralises the Artist-Philosopher, the man whom "before all, Nature had created for painting," the student and thinker, the Leonardo da Vinci of the north.

CHAPTER III

DÜRER'S RETURN TO NÜRNBERG AND MARRIAGE TO AGNES FREY IN 1494

Dürer's record of his marriage—The Frey family—Sketch and portraits of Agnes Frey—Dürer's first studio in Nürnberg—Second portrait of his father, 1497—Death of Dürer the elder, 1502—Death of Dürer's mother, 1513—Dürer's relations to his wife—Sandrart's romance—Dürer and Wilibald Pirkheimer—Dürers letters from Venice—Pirkheimer's letter—Agnes Dürer's character—Her death in 1539—The "Dürer-Haus."

"**W**HEN I had returned Hans Frey was already in treaty with my father, and he gave me his daughter named Agnes, with a dowry of two hundred gulden, and celebrated the wedding, which was on the Monday before St. Margaret's Day (7th July) in the year 1494."

In these few words Dürer prosaically records his marriage to the beautiful Agnes Frey, the elder daughter of Hans Frey, a burgher of Nürnberg, and of his wife Anna Rummel, a daughter of Wilhelm Rummel and Kunigunde

Haller, who belonged to the group of the citizen families from whose ranks members could be elected to the Town Council of the city.

Hans Frey is described as an esteemed and wealthy man holding property both in the city and without the gates, a citizen of some distinction—no ordinary man, but “well versed in many arts.” This marriage was no doubt considered to be a most advantageous match for the young artist—an important alliance for the Dürer family, evidently carefully arranged by Dürer the elder during his son’s absence.

It has been suggested that the portrait painted by Dürer of himself during his “wander-years” in 1493, in which his costume is so elegant and he holds the sprig of “Men’s Fidelity” in his hand, was sent home as a present to his bride, to show her what manner of man he had become during his absence. Dürer has made no mention of his wife in his little day-book, but as the families lived near each other in the city he must have known her from a girl. He mentions her father and mother in his little book, recording later on “the death of my dear mother-in-law,” and again, “the death of my beloved father-in-law, who had been ill for six years, and had suffered incredible reverses in this world.”

Agnes Frey was considered a beauty at the time of her marriage, and it is somewhat remarkable that Dürer did not paint her portrait at this springtide of her life. There only exists a pen-and-ink sketch done of her at this time, which is now in the Albertina Collection at Vienna. This represents the young wife seated at a table in her apron and working dress, resting her chin in her hand as if asleep. "Min Agnes" is written across the top of the sketch in Dürer's handwriting, which seems intended to be a little joke at catching her napping. We just see a girlish face and straight nose beneath the big linen cap of the "Nürnberger Hausfrau."

A later portrait of Frau Agnes, done in 1500, a full-length figure in water-colours, shows her in her best clothes—a white cap, a richly trimmed green dress, with small red shawl round her shoulders. A leather pouch hangs from her side; she carries a pocket handkerchief in her hand.

This drawing is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and belongs to the series of coloured costume studies that are in the Albertina, Vienna. This sketch has the inscription, "Also geht man in Häusern zu Nürnberg" (Indoor dress at Nürnberg). No. 2

shows us a woman wrapped in an ample red cloak lined with green, falling in stiff folds over a dress of blue damask edged with white fur. The fair, auburn hair just shows under the stiff cap. An inscription in Dürer's handwriting states, "Also geht man zu Nürnberg in die Kirchen" (This is how they dress to go to church in Nürnberg), and "Gedenkt mein in Euren Reich" (Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom). This sketch is dated 1500. This same figure is introduced into the woodcut of the "Marriage of the Virgin" in the series of the "Life of the Virgin." The third sketch shows us the same figure in holiday attire. A green dress with a long train is cut square at the neck, and fastened with a gold clasp. Open sleeves, lined and trimmed with white fur, hang from the shoulders, reaching right down to the ground; beneath these are tight red sleeves slashed with white. This sketch is entitled, "Also gehen Nürnberger Frauen zum Tanze, 1500" (This is how the Nürnberg women dress for a dance). This series of sketches were no doubt drawn from Dürer's wife, but far more care has been given to the details of the costumes than to the face. The most interesting portrait of Frau Agnes is a highly

finished drawing in silver-point, dated 1504, which belongs to the Hausmann Collection at Brunswick. This figures a fine comely woman, with slightly aquiline nose, well-formed lips, a rounded chin with a dimple, plump cheeks, and fine eyes beneath arched eyebrows. From these sketches and portrait we can see that Frau Agnes was a beauty as well as an heiress, or to quote Thausing's words: "If we picture to ourselves this woman by the side of Dürer as he has represented himself in the Munich portrait, we must own that a comelier pair never passed through the Bride's Door of St. Sebald's church."

After his marriage Dürer brought his young wife to live in his father's house, "Unter der Vesten," where he set up his studio and commenced to work according to the custom of the period with the help of several assistants. Here he painted the second portrait of his father soon after his return home. This picture, now at Sion House, is dated 1497, with this inscription: "Albrecht Thürer der Elter und alt 70 Jor." In this picture we have the presentment of a hale old man with a profusion of white hair; but time has drawn heavy lines in the steady face. His hands are folded in front of him, as if at the end of a

well-filled life he was quietly and peacefully enjoying a well-earned rest.

Dürer the elder lived long enough to see his favourite son take his position as a great artist, honoured amongst his fellow-citizens; while by his filial care his wants and those of his mother and younger brothers were piously and willingly provided for. The harmony and attachment that united the lives of father and son endured till the old man's death that occurred about five years after this second portrait was painted, when he was suddenly taken ill, and died of an attack of dysentery, 20th September, 1502.

Dürer writes in his book: "When he felt death approaching he resigned himself willingly." And again: "The old woman (his wife) lighted a candle and read to him St. Bernhard's psalm for the dying, but before she had come to the third verse he died. God be merciful to him! And the young maid (Dürer's wife) as soon as she saw the change coming ran quickly to my bedroom to wake me, but before I could get down he had passed away. Then I saw with great grief that I had not been worthy to be with him at the end. God grant to me an equally peaceful end! He left my dear mother a sorrowing

widow, whom he always praised to me, saying what a pious woman she was. I therefore then made up my mind never to leave her. Oh you! all my friends, I beseech you in God's name when you hear of my father's saintly end, that you will recite a 'paternoster' and 'ave maria' both for him and for yourselves, that we may serve God faithfully till we achieve the blessed life. God is full of mercy, therefore do we hope that He may grant to us after this miserable life the pleasures of the Life Eternal, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost who live for ever. Amen!"

The promise Dürer made at his father's death-bed was faithfully carried out towards the mother, for whom he had a pious reverence and deep affection to the day of her death. Dürer's own words give a faithful account of his mother's last days. In his little book where he had chronicled his father's end he now writes :—

"Now you shall know that in the year 1513, on a Tuesday, my poor old mother died, who I had taken into my house two years after my father's death, as she was in poverty. She remained in my care for nine years, when she became one morning suddenly so ill that we had to break open the door of her chamber

to get to her. We carried her downstairs to a living-room, when she received the Sacraments, as all the world thought her dying, for she had not ailed anything till then since my father's death. Her chief occupations had been to go to church and to admonish me often if I did not act rightly. She was always anxious about my own and my brothers' sins. When I went in or out, her words were always, 'Go in the name of Christ.' With great diligence she continually exhorted us to holy living, to be concerned about the welfare of our souls, and to do charitable works. This, my pious mother, bore and brought up eighteen children; she had the pestilence and other severe illnesses. She was at one time very poor, but bore meekly and without malice, contempt, derision, and taunting words. A year later than the time she was taken ill, namely in the year 1514, on a Tuesday, 17th of May, two hours before midnight, died my pious mother, Barbara Dürerin, shrived from all sin and provided with the Holy Sacraments. Before dying she gave me her blessing and wished me everlasting peace.

"She was sixty-three years old at the time of her death, and I buried her honourably according to my means. God the Lord give

me an equally holy death. After her death she appeared to me to be more beautiful than during life."

Dürer drew a charcoal portrait of his old mother a few weeks before her death, which is now in the Print Room of the Berlin Museum. It is dated 1514, and has an inscription in Dürer's handwriting: "Dz ist albrecht durer's muter dy was alt 63 Jor." (This is Albrecht Dürer's mother, aged 63 years.) After her death he added the following words in ink: "Und ist verschieden Im 1514 Jor am erchtag vor der crewtzwochen, um zweig genacht." (And passed away in the year 1514 on the Tuesday before Holy Week at two o'clock in the night.)

The drawing depicts the poor old woman with head bowed with age and illness; the pathetic face is lined with care and hard work. The large eyes and well-formed nose are the only traces left of pretty Barbara Holper, the fifteen-year-old bride. Dürer's intense realism has impelled him to draw and accentuate every line and wrinkle that the cares of life have drawn on her patient old face. His love of truth and detail does not allow of any slight softening of time's hard fingers on the face so endeared to him.

It is hardly possible to allude, however slightly, to Dürer's family life without noticing the tradition (at one time generally believed) that Dürer's wife was a shrew, who led him a miserable life and tormented him into an early grave. It is well to know that these tales have subsequently been disproved, the whole fabrication having been built up on an angry letter written by Wilibald Pirckheimer, after his friend Dürer's death, to Tscherte, the Imperial architect in Vienna, in which he accused Frau Agnes of having made her husband's life miserable, and accelerated his death by her love of money, always urging him to continuous work, even when he was ill.

This letter and a romance written later by Sandrart, which was supposed to chronicle the unhappiness of the Dürer couple, seem to have been the only foundations for the alleged unhappiness.

Dürer's life entirely contradicts these tales; he never mentions his wife unkindly or gives the impression of being an unhappy man. No children came to bless the union between Albrecht Dürer and Agnes Frey. The marriage arranged by their respective fathers may not have been an ideal one, but it was probably an everyday happy one. Frau Agnes was a

pious, upright woman, beautiful, well dowered, and connected with some of the principal Nürnberg families, whose good position in the city must have been of material aid to the young artist. Neither Dürer's letters to his wife and friends, nor the journal that he kept of their travels in the Netherlands, show any trace that suggests that the couple did not live together in harmony. She was probably far below him in intellect—no ideal woman, but a thrifty German housewife, who, by his own account, was well able to look after her husband's interests, undertaking the sale of his prints during his visit to Venice or when away from home on the many journeys undertaken to execute his patrons' commissions. The few allusions made to her during his correspondence from Venice with his great friend Wilibald Pirckheimer rather tends to show how entirely he trusted her with his business matters during his absence, for we know that she went to the great fairs in the neighbourhood to dispose of his prints, as well as to collect the money from the agents who sold them for Dürer.

Dürer's genius and fascinating personality gave him a position in his native town among the patrician families ; while the patronage of

Kaiser Maximilian and his lifelong friendship with Pirkheimer, whose house was the focus of the literati of the time, placed him in the society of the most learned and progressive minds in the city. Pirkheimer's fine library and lavish hospitality were equally at the disposition of his beloved Albrecht.

The names of Dürer and Pirkheimer have become linked together for all time, both men marked out as progressive spirits, the artist-student teaching morality in his woodcuts according to the new ideas of the Reformation, showing the beauty to be found in the study of nature, the true source of beauty in his pictures and portraits, the man who "before all things was a painter."

Pirkheimer, the man of action, the soldier, the diplomatist, as well as the scholar and classicalist, embraces the doctrines of humanitarianism with fervour, but is at the same time the gay man of the world, the patrician, or as the old Nürnbergers put it, of the "ehrbare Geschlechter," the honourable families. Dürer's long letters from Venice to Pirkheimer show how intimate the two men were. These letters are sometimes descriptions of his work, or allusions to the many commissions he is executing for his friend, buying carpets, hangings,

jewels and trinkets, or "fool's feathers for you which I cannot find." At other times he chaffs the gay widower about his love affairs in Nürnberg, sending messages to their mutual lady friends. Dürer's most frequent jokes in this direction turn round a lady who he designates as "Eure" (your), or sometimes "Unsere" (our) "Rechenmeisterin" (female accountant). This name seems to have been wilfully perverted to mean the "Dürerin" (his wife) so as to cast ridicule on her supposed parsimony and avariciousness.

The names of Rechenmeister, as well as those of Rosenthaler and Gärtner, which often occur in these letters from Venice, sometimes accompanied by little caricatures, are made the subject of rather broad jokes, but were, however, all well-known Nürnberger family names. But although Pirkheimer makes rough jokes about "die Rosenthalerin" in his letters to his friend, it seems from Dürer's allusions that he expected his friend was going to marry this lady. An interesting relic mentioned by Thausing strengthens this idea. It consists of a small medallion in mother-of-pearl, which is engraved with the figure of a young woman stretching out her arms to a little child, who runs towards her. An inscription in Gothic

lettering on a scroll bears these words: "Mutterlein las mich dir befohlen sein" (Little mother, take me to your care). On the reverse side is a little shield and lily, with the inscription "Agnes Rosenthalerin. Ein gar hülfreich Schutz in jedweder Betrübniß. Der ehr-und tugendbar Jungfrou, 1506" (To Agnes Rosenthaler. A very help in the time of trouble. To the honourable and virtuous maid). This side-peep into the gay widower's courtship of the fair Rosenthalerin is all we know of this matter, for Pirkheimer remained a widower.

Dürer's letters from Venice to Pirkheimer and his friends at home were written in the highest spirits and in the most intimate strain. The bright sun and congenial society, the wider scope and beauty of Italian art influenced the German artist, used to greyer skies, to more prosaic surroundings in his native city. Jokes flow freely from his pen, although at times he complains of money troubles, or of the spiteful machinations of the Venetian artists who were jealous of his success in their city, as well as the difficulties he had in protecting his prints from reproduction. He never alludes to nor is there any trace of misunderstanding or unhappiness with his wife.

It was not till two years after Dürer's death,

that Pirkheimer wrote the now historical letter to his friend Tscherte, the Court Architect in Vienna, in which, as we have already mentioned, he denounces in no measured terms Agnes Dürerin as a shrew. This letter was written, we will hope under the stress of a severe attack of gout, in a fit of temper at not having become the possessor of a handsome pair of antlers which had been amongst Dürer's collections, but were sold by Frau Agnes after her husband's death.

Pirkheimer evidently greatly wished to possess these antlers, which were much prized as decorations in Nürnberger patrician houses, for he says in the same letter: "Albrecht Dürer, too, had some antlers which I should dearly have liked, but she has secretly given them away together with other beautiful things for next to nothing." His accusations against Frau Agnes only refer to the last months of Dürer's life, when he was already very ill, probably in a consumption, having never entirely recovered from the illness he contracted while travelling in the Netherlands. The extracts from this letter read thus: "Agnes tormented him to such an extent as to shorten his life, for he was withered up like a bundle of dry straw; he dared not seek any amuse-

ment away from home, or go into society. Moreover she drove him by day and night to his work that he might have more money to leave to her when he died. For she always pretended that she would be reduced to starvation, and does so still, although Albrecht has left her 6,000 florins. That she was hostile to everyone who liked her husband and who associated with him, which distressed Albrecht most deeply and brought him to his grave."

It is quite evident that Pirkheimer had a personal dislike to his friend's wife, which was very likely returned with interest, as she may have considered the friend absorbed too much of her husband's time and interests.

Frau Agnes certainly did not show herself to be either mean or grasping after her husband's death, when she became the legal possessor of his whole fortune, but at once agreed to make over a fourth part of it to his two brothers, Andreas and Hans, to which they were only entitled at her death, "of her own desire, and on account of the kindly feeling she entertained for them, for the sake of her dear husband, and as her dear brothers-in-law." Two years before her death Agnes Dürer made a gift of 1,000 florins to the University of Wittenberg, to found a scholar-

ship for theological students. This good deed is noted by Melanchthon, who wrote : " That he thanked God for this aid to study, and that he praised this good work of the widow Dürer before Luther and others."

Frau Agnes Dürer retained possession of the Dürer house till her death, which occurred on December 28th, 1539, when she willed it to her sister Katharina, the widow of Martin Zinner. The house then passed through many hands, till in the year 1826 it was bought by the Albrecht Dürer Kunst Verein for the city of Nürnberg in perpetuity, just three hundred year's after Dürer's death.

The " Dürer-Haus " has now been carefully restored ; furniture belonging to the period has been selected and placed in the rooms, while by degrees a collection of prints, drawings, and Dürer relics are being gathered together under the gabled roof of the home of Nürnberg's most famous son.

CHAPTER IV

DÜRER'S STUDIO IN NÜRNBERG. EARLY WORKS OF 1498-1505

Life in Nürnberg — The Dresden altar-piece — Dürer's assistants, Hans Schüpflein, Hans von Kulmbach, Hans Baldung Grien — The "St. Vitus" altar-piece — The "Descent from the Cross" — The "Paumgärtner" altar-piece — Dürer's woodcuts — "The Apocalypse" — "The Life of the Virgin" — "Die Fürlegerin" portrait — Self-portrait of 1498 — Portraits of the Tucher family — Self-portrait of 1500 — "Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds" — The "Adoration of the Magi."

ALBRECHT DÜRER'S first studio at Nürnberg was in his father's house, "Unter der Vesten," where he began to work on his return from his "Wanderjahre" in 1494. Artists were not hampered by any of the Guild rules and regulations, painting being considered as a free art in the city; but their studios were more like workshops where they worked with the help of assistants and apprentices.

The master's restless energy and untiring

diligence at once asserts itself; ideas flow easily from his inventive brain. While his first altar-pieces are progressing in his studio with the help of his assistants, his imagination is already busy with the drawings for his illustrations of the Apocalypse.

His delight in the scientific side of his work is manifested in his eager studies to discover "the reason of the Beautiful," or the proportions of the human figure that result in perfect beauty. The exact study of the human figure in the nude enables him to carry out his exuberant fantasy, which peoples hell and heaven with angels or demons, with the fierce and fantastic figures that fill his vision of the scenes of the "Revelations of St. John the Divine." While, again, his equally pronounced love of nature and simplicity is the keynote to his drawings in "The Life of the Virgin," the beautiful series of pictures that show us the life of the Holy Family, occupied in their daily tasks as simply as the citizens around him under the city walls are pursuing the even occupations of their lives.

The earliest large work that has come down to us from this period is the so-called "Dresden altar-piece," now in the Dresden Gallery. This triptych is painted in tempera on fine canvas,

probably as a commission from the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, who was often in Nürnberg between 1494-1501, and for whom Dürer is known to have executed many paintings. This picture was taken to Dresden in 1687 from the Castle Chapel at Wittenberg.

The centre panel represents the Virgin in half length, kneeling adoringly before the Infant, who lies sleeping on a parapet. The Virgin is draped in blue with a white linen cloth thrown over her head and shoulders. A quaint little angel holds a fly whisk over the Child's head. An illuminated prayer-book lies open on the little hand-desk at her side. A handsome crown of Gothic design, decorated with pearls and filigree work, is held over her head by two angels who float in the air ; more angels surround her, bearing censers, from which the incense ascends in little spiral clouds, symbolical of perpetual prayer ascending to God. Little boy-angels are busy sweeping out the room ; through the open door we see St. Joseph at work in an inner room, while out of the open window we see a courtyard and trees, with several figures ; a careful study of everyday German life. This panel attracts by the simplicity of the composition, by its combined idealism and realism, but the work

does not equal the finer execution of the wings of this triptych. The head of the Virgin is heavy, the pose awkward; but the hands are very beautiful, as in all Dürer's figures. It seems as if Dürer had devoted himself to the side panels, leaving the centre one to his studio assistants.

On these altar-wings we have the figures of St. Anthony and St. Sebastian in half length against the parapet that continues across the whole composition. To the left St. Anthony, a powerful study of a fine bearded head and muscular figure; the rugged, carefully drawn hands are clasped over a book. Dürer has evidently studied his subject direct from the life, has drawn his man as he saw him, discarding the traditions of his Master Wolgemut's school. If it were not for the little angels that hover round St. Anthony's head, or the quaint little demon that whispers in his ear, we should hardly suspect the "saintship." The bewitching little angels that are frightening the demon away are in Dürer's happiest manner—round, sturdy, and full of life.

St. Sebastian on the right wing shows us a careful study of the nude. The fine torso, the firm pose of the figure, the young head with its curling hair, the intense melancholy

of the eyes, the ardent clasp of the fervent hands, combine to give as fine a study of youth as the other panel does of age. The contrast between the placidity of the aged saint and the ecstatic devotion of the young martyr is admirable.

In these three panels Dürer has replaced the usual halo round the heads of Virgin and saints by richly ornamented crowns, which are held by angels over their heads, a practice to which he adhered in his later pictures.

The most prominent of the artists who worked with Dürer in his studio at this date were Hans Schäufelein of Nördlingen, Hans von Kulmbach, and Hans Baldung, called Grien, a native of Gmünd in Suabia. They were all men of talent who assisted Dürer in carrying out the large altar-pieces, Dürer probably only painting the principal figures with his own hand. Hans Schäufelein worked with Dürer till he closed his studio in 1505 to go to Venice, when he returned to his native town of Nördlingen, after his marriage in 1515 to Afra Tucher, the daughter of a Nürnberg patrician. Dürer remained on terms of intimacy with both Hans von Kulmbach and Hans Baldung Grien all his life, the latter receiving a lock of Dürer's hair at his death,

which was treasured as an heirloom in his family. This lock of hair is preserved in the library of the Kunstakademie in Vienna.

The "St. Veitus" altar-piece, executed a few years later, about 1502, was, we presume, another commission for the Elector of Saxony, as it bears his coat-of-arms on the reverse side. This picture was probably at Wittenberg in Frederick the Wise's time. It is now at Ober St. Veit, near Vienna, from which place it takes its name. The original sketch for this picture, dated 1502, signed "Albertus Dürer," is in the Basle Museum.

The centre panel represents the Crucifixion. A group of soldiers, several of them mounted, occupy the foreground, while the three crosses of Calvary tower up to the extreme height of the canvas; beyond them we see a wild, hilly country and a distant view of Jerusalem. On the left wing we see Christ led to Calvary, on the right wing Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene after the resurrection. On the doors of this triptych St. Rochus and St. Sebastian are depicted life size.

The St. Sebastian is evidently Dürer's own work; the firmly modelled torso, the pose of the head with the eyes looking out sideways, are all characteristic of his manner. The rest

of the triptych is usually attributed to Hans Schäufelein.

Another votive panel, "The Descent from the Cross," belongs to this group of pictures. It was executed for a friend of Dürer's, the goldsmith Hans Glim, of Nürnberg, who hung it in the Prediger Kirche. This picture is dated 1502; it came into the possession of the Imhoff family, bankers in Nürnberg, in 1553, but is now in the Royal Pinakothek, Munich.

This fine composition shows the outstretched figure of the dead Christ surrounded by a sorrowing group of women and disciples in the foreground. Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus stand on either side. The mourning women behind the Christ are grouped in pyramidal form, to which the figure of St. John forms the apex. A landscape lit up with the setting sun, just emerging from a cloud, which gilds the turrets of a city "set on a hill," is quite Italian in feeling. The light and radiance in the landscape contrast strongly with the sorrow-stricken and pathetic group of mourners. The head of the Virgin is especially noble and refined, while the hands of Mary Magdalen, stretched out to the dead Saviour, are eloquent in their delicacy and eagerness. The St. John

stands somewhat apart with clasped hands gazing into space; the youthful beauty of the head and figure and the grace of pose are especially remarkable, and recall to the mind the beauty of figures by Mantegna. The most important of Dürer's votive pictures is the triptych in the Royal Pinakothek, Munich, known as the "Paumgärtner altar-piece," which was executed for the Nürnberg family of Paumgärtner.

The central panel, "The Nativity," shows us a romantic Romanesque ruin, under whose walls the Holy Family have found shelter. The Virgin and St. Joseph kneel on either side of the Infant, who is surrounded by tiny angels. Two figures approach in the middle distance; the oxen are visible in their stall. In the background the angels of the Annunciation are disappearing in the clear blue sky, above the simple landscape that forms the background. The side panels of this triptych are devoted to life-size figures of two knights in full armour standing by their steeds against a sombre landscape of trees and rocky heights, crowned with a mediæval castle. These sturdy figures are portraits of the donors, Stephan Paumgärtner on the left, his brother Lucas on the right wing. This picture was completed

about 1500, closing the series of studio-pictures executed by Dürer with the help of his assistants. Smaller pictures and portraits now absorb the master's attention, as well as his drawings for his great series of woodcuts, "The Apocalypse" and "The Life of the Virgin."

Dürer in his writings defines the mission of painting as limited to two objects. He says: "The art of painting is employed in the service of the Church to set forth the sufferings of Christ, and many other similar subjects. It also preserves the features of men after their death."

Dürer remained true to these formulæ nearly all his days. His chief woodcuts, his finest pictures are evolved from scriptural subjects, while the famous portraits of himself and of his contemporaries are so faithfully studied from life that these men's features have indeed been preserved after death.

A very beautiful study of a portrait head, painted in 1497, is known as "Die Fürlegerin." It is the portrait of a Nürnberg girl, Katharina Fürleger. The picture, now in the Royal Picture Gallery, Augsburg, is dated 1497, and has the Dürer monogram on it. The pretty girlish face is framed in masses of golden hair, over

which is thrown a transparent veil. The slightly drooping pose of the head, the hands folded in prayer, give the impression that it may have been intended for a study for the Virgin. The wealth of golden hair is treated with great skill; the beautiful colour and texture are rendered with the minute detail so loved by Dürer when painting hair. It is a fine study of a young and charming woman, treated with more than his usual appreciation of the ideal side of womanly beauty, which Dürer only shows us at intervals, as in his "Eve," in "The Virgin with the Finch," the Virgin in the "Feast of the Rose Chaplets," or his lovely Virgin in the "Adoration of the Magi," who may perhaps be considered as the most beautiful of the women that he has limned on his many canvases.

In the year 1498 Dürer again painted a portrait of his father, which is now at Sion House, followed by another portrait of himself. These pictures may have been painted with a view to attract commissions, or Thausing suggests that his own portrait may have been done to commemorate the year in which he published the first edition of his Apocalypse, the great work that first brought the artist fame—that revealed to the world the wonderful

imagination and consummate mastery of line he possessed.

This portrait has the monogram and the date of 1498, with the inscription: "Das malt Ich nach meiner Gestalt, Ich war sex und zwanzig Jor alt, Albrecht Dürer" (I painted this when I was six-and-twenty, from my own person). The original picture is in the Prado Museum, Madrid, but there is a replica in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, in the collection of portraits of famous artists.

The pose is very similar to the "Männer-treu" (Men's Fidelity) portrait of 1493. Three-quarter face, with the eyes turned sharply to the right, looking out of the picture; the hair is rather longer and curls over the neck; the face is fuller and more manly, but the thoughtful expression remains much the same in all his portraits. The elegant black-and-white costume is evidently in the latest style. Dürer was certainly a bit of a dandy, who dressed and curled his luxuriant hair and loved fine clothes. In one of his letters to Pirkheimer he writes: "My French cloak, the mantle, and the brown cloak send you their compliments."

The following year, 1499, brought Dürer many commissions for portraits from the

Nürnberg burghers. He painted three of the Tucher family at this time—life-size, head and shoulders, showing the hands. Two of these portraits—"Hans Tucher" and his wife "Felicitas"—are at Weimar; the third—"Frau Elsbeth Tucher"—is at Cassel. Another fine portrait, dated 1499, is that of "Oswalt Krell," now in the Royal Pinakothek, Munich. This picture is very harmonious in tone; the black velvet and rich fur of the costume blend well with the warm reds of the curtain, which throws the delicate greys of the flesh tones of the head and hands into strong relief. At the edge of the curtain we have a fascinating example of Dürer's landscape work; the elegant lines of the tapering trees, with the winding river flowing below, in cool blues and greens, complete the background of this picture.

The most important and interesting of Dürer's portraits of himself is in the Royal Pinakothek, Munich. It bears his monogram and the date 1500, also a Latin inscription: "Albertus Duerus Noricus ipsum me proprius hic effingebam coloribus aetatis anno XXVIII" (I, Albrecht Dürer, of Nürnberg, have painted myself in true colours from nature in my twenty-eighth year).

This is truly the portrait of a great man; the noble face, fine forehead, and thoughtful eyes, framed by the long, carefully curled locks, compel attention. The combined sweetness and melancholy of expression, the power in the wide-opened eyes, proclaim the student and the man of genius. The fascination of this noble head, that we know Dürer used as the model for his Christ-heads, which have since passed into the recognised type of the head of the Redeemer of the Renaissance painters, must have magnetised many who have stood in front of this beautiful painting. The quaint position of the hand intensifies the devotional character of the picture, which, especially at the first glance, is so strongly marked. After seeing this portrait of the master of northern art it seems easier to understand the fine artist-soul that has poured out its rich imagination through his marvellous series of drawings, engravings, and paintings.

No wonder that Dürer, with the naïve personal admiration of those days, delighted to paint the artist-soul that looked at him from the glass. He says in his writings: "dass einer etlichen muter gefelt ir kint wol, daraus kummt dars vill moler machen daz inen geleich ist" (Then every mother is well pleased

with her own child, therefore it comes that many painters paint that which is like unto them).

Only rarely did Dürer depart from his axiom that "the art of painting should be used in the service of the Church—and preserves the likeness of man after his death." Thus a picture painted in the year 1500 is remarkable as illustrating a mythological subject—"Hercules battling with the Stymphalian Birds," which is in the Germanic Museum at Nürnberg. This water-colour drawing represents Hercules shooting at the Stymphalian birds, a species of winged harpies. The nude figure of Hercules is energetically posed in the act of drawing his bow at the harpies who are flying towards him. The landscape background shows us a river, castle, and distant hills. This picture has been much damaged and almost entirely repainted, but the original pen-and-ink sketch is preserved in the Grand Ducal collection at Darmstadt.

The "Adoration of the Magi," perhaps the most beautiful of Dürer's large oil-paintings, was completed in the year 1504 for the Kurfurst of Saxony for his chapel at Wittenberg, who was Dürer's earliest and most constant patron. This beautiful picture is

now one of the treasures in the Tribuna Sala of the Uffizi, Florence.

This picture is fortunately in good preservation; the original beauty of the colouring, the delicate touches of the master's hand, are clear and fresh. The youthful, fair-haired Virgin ranks amongst the most beautiful of Dürer's creations. She is draped in blue and white. The adorable Infant on her knee throws his little arms round the casket that is being offered to him by one of the Magi, an old man who kneels at his feet. The picturesque figure and dark skin of the Moorish king contrasts with the fairness of the Mother and Child; while the third sage, holding a magnificent golden chalice in his hand, is evidently studied from Dürer's own noble head and stature. St. Joseph stands somewhat in the background. Sunlight floods the romantic ruins behind the group and the distant landscape; white butterflies flutter in the foreground.

Dürer has invested his Virgin with the simple dignity of motherhood. No halo adorns her head or that of the Infant Christ; she is divine in the charm of simplicity and happiness as she holds her babe so graciously to receive the homage offered at his rosy feet.

This picture is a charming example of the directness and sincerity of Dürer's early manner, when, to quote his own words, "with his mind full of nature, art developed the good seed and brought forth rich fruits . . . the secret treasure of the heart made manifest by the creation of a new figure or thing."

CHAPTER V

DÜRER'S ENGRAVINGS

Publication of the German and Latin editions of the series of woodcuts illustrating the Apocalypse in 1498—Satirical prints of the day—Dürer as artist and teacher—The “Apocalipsis cum Figuris”—The Koburger Bible—Dürer as wood-engraver—As copper-engraver—His early engravings—Influence of Mantegna and Barbari—The “Great Passion”—The “Green Passion”—The “Life of the Virgin”—Collection of Dürer’s studies and drawings.

THE year fourteen hundred and ninety-eight must be written in large characters in Dürer’s life, the year in which he published the first editions of his celebrated series of woodcuts illustrating the Apocalypse, the German edition, entitled “Die heimliche Offenbarung Johannis,” and the “Apocalipsis cum Figuris,” with Latin text adorned with fifteen woodcuts.

This remarkable series of drawings first made the young artist celebrated in his own land, while the prints rapidly travelled across

the Alps and made him known to the painters of Italy.

The close of the fifteenth century in Germany was marked by stormy and unsettled days ; religious agitation was seething among the masses of the German people, shortly to find its outlet in the new doctrines of the Reformation. What wonder that this series of allegorical drawings should be seized upon with avidity by the body of the people, to whom books and writings were sealed by their ignorance ! Rome was not unaware of the attack that was being directed against her doctrines in German lands, for in 1495 a Papal decree had been issued against the publication of forbidden books. The sale of satirical and sacred prints was, however, already effecting the circulation of new ideas in ever-increasing circles among the people of the cities.

At the head of the pictorial satirists in Nürnberg was Michael Wolgemut, Dürer's master, who had published in 1496 a most audacious plate, known as the "Pabst-Esel" (Pope's ass). This plate is inscribed "Roma caput mundi." A female monster covered with scales, with the foot of a goat and the claw of a vulture, is depicted in the centre of the plate. Between her shoulders is an ass's head,

while from under a mask shoots out a tail which develops into a dragon's head. Her right hand is a cat's paw.

Dürer's plate of the "Babylonian Woman," the last but one of his "Apocalypse," depicts the same idea. Dürer has drawn the "voluptuous" woman of the Apocalypse seated on the beast with seven heads, with the "cup of abomination" in her right hand. A monk prostrates himself before the monster, but the central figure, typical of the thought of the day, stands upright, gazing at her defiantly and inquiringly. Above these figures hovers an angel, who points to a city in flames, and cries, "Babylon the great is fallen," etc.

Dürer is evidently much attracted by the scope that the word-pictures of the Apocalypse give to his active imagination, which revels in the range thus afforded to his fantasy, enabling him "to create some of the masses of figures" with which he declares every artist's soul is filled. The clever draughtsman is able to depict the array of figures that live in his brain; he approaches his subject with the intense earnestness of his devout yet analytical mind, producing as remarkable a work, in spite of the roughness of his material, as the pen-pictures of the visions of St. John the Divine.

There is no simulation of feeling here; the terrific forms of the destroying angels of the Apocalypse, who unmercifully pour out the vials of the divine wrath on a miserable world of sinners, are conceived with a grim force, at once mystic and realistic. The northern master's perfect technique enabled him in accordance with his wonderful imagination to produce with facility drawing after drawing, scene on scene, correct and vigorous in detail. At the same time, each plate is teeming with ideas, or sets forth in clear and simple line the word and meaning of the Holy Scriptures as they were beginning to be revealed by the fierce light that the Reformation was throwing on the hitherto closed pages of the Bible.

Ideas were changing in men's minds at this time, when independence and originality were forcing themselves into notice, while older tenets were beginning to waver and disappear as men realised the fact that the Church and priesthood of Rome were not infallible, or necessary as mediators between God and mankind.

Albrecht Dürer's art was typically Gothic and northern in feeling, guided by the illimitable power of a progressive mind. Surrounded in his own city by men of liberal learning, he

cast in his lot with them and the Progressive Reformation party. Dürer gradually freed himself from the restrictions that use and custom had woven round the artistic delineations of sacred subjects; by degrees he ventured to lift the heavy curtain of tradition and let in full daylight on his subjects. His Holy Families are drawn with truth and simplicity from the nature of his immediate surroundings; in fact, representing at times the sturdy folk around him almost too naturally. But the artist triumphs by the direct piety of his ideas, the truth of his draughtsmanship; by the intense Germanic depth of thought which permeates through his drawings like the perfume of freshly turned earth, the joy of spring flowers, or the penetrating scent of the pine forest, that freshens the senses and braces the mind to become as upright as the straight boles of the hardy forest trees.

Dürer's outlook on life was large and noble. His deeply religious mind surrounds him with a pure atmosphere of thought. The simple, gentle, homelike scenes in "The Life of the Virgin," the astounding virility and daring of his "Apocalypse," the deep feeling of the sorrow-laden scenes of "The Great Passion," mark him out as a master mind. His art was

homely enough to be appreciated by the people, deep and scientific enough to be studied by the scholars, while the magnificent skill with which he handled pen, pencil, burin, or brush made him one of the "great artists" for all time.

He describes his "Apocalipsis cum Figuris" as illustrating "the Revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave to St. John to show unto his servants, even those things that must shortly come to pass. And he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John; who bare witness of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, even of all things that he saw."

The title-page to this work shows us the Virgin crowned with seven stars, the Infant in her lap, seated on the crescent moon, surrounded with an aureole of light, appearing to St. John, who has an open book on his knee with an eagle at his side.

The first or introductory cut shows the Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist before the Emperor Domitian. The second cut shows us St. John's appearance before the Son of Man, who is enthroned on an arch in the clouds in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks. St. John kneels at the feet of this majestic figure, from whose mouth issues a

sharp sword, and whose outstretched right hand clasps seven stars. The 'drapery sweeps in admirable folds round the dignified figure; the eyes flash as with flames of fire.

The third cut shows us the Throne of God set above the four-and-twenty elders, "and He upon the throne that was like unto a jasper stone and a sardius," with the rainbow round about the throne "like an emerald." Before the throne we see the seven lamps of fire, the glassy sea like crystal, and the four beasts full of eyes before and behind. The "Lamb" on the steps of the throne is about to open the seven seals of the book, the four-and-twenty elders encircle the throne, St. John kneels at the foot. Beneath the clouds the sun shines over a river, a tower and trees. The "seven beasts" are drawn rather small, as if the Evangelist's description of them, "full of eyes before and behind," had been somewhat too much for even Dürer's fantasy to realise.

The fourth cut, "The Four Riders," or the opening of the four seals, represents the riders going forth to execute vengeance on the earth—the riders on the white horse, on the black horse, on the red horse, and on the pale horse. These "riders" of the Apocalypse are un-

doubtedly the finest drawing of the series. The four riders, stern and powerful, advance in serried line, the one with bent bow, the second with raised sword, the third swinging a pair of scales, the fourth a trident. The rush and trample of the heavy horses is admirably suggested; their eager heads are as wild as the fierce eyes of their riders. The clouds seem to fly from behind them, the resistless charge bears poor shrinking humanity pell-mell to the earth. The three first riders are clothed in fantastic mediæval garb; the fourth rider, Death, is depicted as the skeleton form of an old man who bestrides a miserable pony, his bony legs almost touching the ground. The ghastly head, with wide-opened mouth, glaring, lidless eyes, and straggling hair floating in the wind, is weirdly suggestive of "the pale horse and his rider Death, and hell followed after him." Hell is pictured according to the usual tradition, as a great dragon with wide-opened jaws swallowing up the wicked. In the foreground are the victims of this wild charge; the hoofs of the horses are on them; stones and dust fly into the air. These groups represent "the fourth part of men who shall be slain" in the garb of Nürnberg citizens, typical figures of the city—a housewife, a rich

merchant, a peasant, a crowned and a tonsured head are among the victims. Rays of light strike down like spears from the "brightness of the Lamb," an angel with garments fluttering flies with outstretched arms above the riders.

The fifth cut represents the breaking of the fifth and sixth seal. The upper portion of the plate shows us the martyred saints receiving their white robes, "those who were slain for the word of God." Below a wild group vainly seeks shelter from the wrath of God; the stars fall from heaven, rocks are overthrown. Crowned heads, priests and prelates, men and women are overtaken in the general destruction, crying aloud in their misery to the "rocks and mountains to fall on them, and hide them from the wrath of the Lamb, and from Him that sitteth on the throne." In the centre of the picture we see the falling stars, the darkened sun and moon.

The sixth cut, again, comprises two subjects, the four angels holding the four winds of heaven and the sealing of the elect on their foreheads. This is a fine composition, less confused with superabundant detail than the preceding cut. An angel in the heights gives the command to the four angels who control

the winds "neither to hurt the earth, or the sea, or the trees till the servants of our God have been sealed on their foreheads." The winds are depicted as wild-looking heads in the clouds. The rest of the composition falls into two groups. The angel marking the saints who kneel before him with the sign of the cross on their foreheads occupies the right side of the cut; to the left we have a grand group, the four angels with drawn swords, waiting to strike. They are strong and powerful figures, imperious and lordly with their great vulture wings to bear them forth on their mission of woe. They stand under the tree of life, which, laden with fruit, forms the apex of this pyramidal group, a form of construction often used by Dürer in his compositions. The calm and vigilant strength expressed in these mighty figures appeals strongly to the imagination.

The seventh cut illustrates the opening of the seventh seal, or the distribution of the seven trumpets to the angels, with the loosing of the plagues that must fall on the earth. This composition shows a very confused mass of figures; the most interesting part is the fantastic landscape below, to which the eagle flies, "crying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe."

The eighth cut is full of interest, one of the finest of the series. Here we see the "four angels of the Euphrates," or the four winds, unloosed for their mission of wrath. Their long swords are flashing, dealing death and destruction around them with irresistible force. Horses and men fall annihilated within the circle of these whirling blades brandished by the stalwart arms of these fierce forms upheld by their great pinions. Above their heads is grouped another band of warriors mounted on lion-headed steeds, who vomit fire from their wide-stretched jaws. At the extreme top is an altar, above this Christ holding four trumpets in His hands; to the right the angel sounding a trumpet, to the left an adoring angel.

The ninth cut represents the almost impossible scene of "the angel arrayed in a cloud, and his face was as the sun, his feet as pillars of fire: and he had in his hand a little open book, his right foot upon the sea, his left upon the earth." Dürer's drawing is almost fantastic in its simplicity. The colossal figure of the angel swathed in a cloud, whose feet he has literally drawn as pillars of fire, hands the little book, bitter to the taste, to St. John to devour.

The tenth cut represents the Woman clothed with the sun, crowned with twelve stars, the moon under her feet. The seven-headed dragon threatens her child, who is caught up to heaven by angels. The woman, the type of the Church of God, has huge eagle wings to enable her to fly into the wilderness to escape from the dragon, who rises from the earth to destroy her. The dragon is finely imagined—a characteristic mediæval conception.

The eleventh cut shows us St. Michael and his angels at war with the dragon. St. Michael hurls the dragon to the earth with a long spear.

The twelfth cut represents the Worshipping of the two great Beasts by the kings and nations. Above is the Lamb upon the throne having a sharp sickle in his hand. A group of kings and priests kneel devoutly before the Beast, while a number of citizens somewhat apart gaze doubtfully at the Beast. Dürer probably indicated here the attitude of the Reformers against the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church.

The thirteenth cut shows us the Apotheosis of the Lamb. The myriad forms of the saints of God surround the Lamb, "crying with a great voice, Hallelujah, salvation and glory

and power belong to our God." Here, in great contrast to the preceding cuts, the joys of heaven are depicted in rays of dazzling light.

The fourteenth cut represents the Babylonian Woman, which we have already noticed.

The fifteenth and closing cut of the series shows us the Angel binding the old dragon for a thousand years, having the "key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand." At the top of the cut we see St. John, who stands on a hill surveying the holy city, the New Jerusalem, shown to him by an angel, of which Dürer writes: "O Lord, give us then the new and beautiful Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven, and of which the Apocalypse speaks."

The text of the German edition, as well as the preface of this work, was taken from the Koburger Bible, and ends with these words: "Here ends the book of the Divine Revelation of St. John the Divine. Printed at Nürnberg by Albrecht Dürer, painter, in the year MCCCCXLVIII. after the birth of Christ." The Koburger Bible was printed in Nürnberg in the year 1483 by Anton Koburger, Albrecht Dürer's godfather.

The art of wood-engraving had till Dürer's

time only been used on very simple designs. The high artistic merit of Dürer's drawings must therefore have been a severe task to the skill of the "Formschneider" or wood-engravers he employed in their execution. Till then these block-pictures had consisted of a flat outline helped out with colour applied by stencil or by hand. Dürer leaves colour alone, and relies entirely on the effect of line with an intelligent use of light and shade, producing as nearly as possible an exact reproduction of a pen-and-ink drawing. His outlines are clear and decided ; he models with clear, sharp strokes that can be accurately followed with the graver of the woodcutter, obtaining for the first time on a block, by close or open shading, an artistic interpretation of line and tone. It was long thought that Dürer cut his own woodblocks, owing to their high artistic finish. He doubtless understood exactly the technicalities of the work, and educated his "Formschneider" to carry out his drawings under his careful supervision ; but it does not seem possible that he could have found time to do the mechanical part of the work himself, or even possess the same facility with the graving tool as the craftsmen who were working continually at their trade.

With the burin it was a different matter. Dürer was undoubtedly a most skilled artist on copper, to which his beautiful engravings bear lively witness. The preciseness of his drawing, combined with the delicacy and rich tone of his plates, has perhaps never been surpassed in the annals of engraving, which reached perfection under his hands. Tradition for a long time pointed to Wolgemut as Dürer's forerunner in this art, but it has since been proved that he was not an engraver. Dürer may have learnt the first rudiments in his father's workshop. The large W's found on some of Dürer's supposed early prints were for a long time considered to stand for Wolgemut and to be his own work. These prints are now considered to have been engraved after Dürer by a goldsmith of Olmütz called Wenzel.

The most interesting of the early engravings is "The Virgin with the Ape." The Virgin and Child are seated on the banks of a river, the ape crouched at their feet. The landscape that forms the background has evidently been adapted from Dürer's water-colour drawing of the "Weiherhaus on the Gleishammer," now in the British Museum. The landscape shows the careful study Dürer gave to his drawings

from nature, and the delicacy and finish he lavished on the details. To this series of engravings may be added "The Four Witches," or "Four Nude Women" (dated 1497), "The Sea Rider" (or "Amymone"), "The Dream of Love" (1505), "The Knight and the Lady," "The Great Hercules," and "The Lady on Horseback." There is an interesting study of nude female figures in pen and ink in the Print Room of the British Museum of about this period, which shows Dürer's system of drawing the figure according to geometrical tables. A leaf of explanations is attached to this drawing in his own handwriting. A woodcut, entitled "The Men's Bath," is one of Dürer's early woodcuts. This study of nude figures was probably done from life in the public baths on the Pegnitz. "The Prodigal Son," one of the earliest engravings, shows us the prodigal kneeling in prayer, surrounded by a group of swine in a picturesque farmyard.

Most excellent technical work is achieved by Dürer in his heraldic drawings. The beautiful copper-plate entitled "The Arms of Death," or "Death and the Lady," dated 1503, far surpasses any of his previous engravings. The skull and large wings are exquisitely

drawn and modelled. The figures of Death and the Lady on the left are skilfully balanced by the coat-of-arms to the right. Death is surprising a young woman with his sudden call, a favourite subject of Dürer's age. Another fine heraldic drawing is known as "The Lion Coat of Arms." The well-known engraving of "St. Eustachius" was executed about 1504, and bears the Dürer monogram. This, the largest of Dürer's copper-plates, is simply teeming with detail; the landscape and the group of hounds in the foreground are the best portion of the plate. The St. Eustace, who kneels before the stag, which appears to him with a crucifix between his antlers, as well as the horse, are stiff, but the whole plate has Dürer's great charm of simplicity of thought and beautiful tone diffused over it.

Dürer's first sketch for his magnificent print, the "Adam and Eve," may probably be traced to the pen-and-ink drawings in the Print Room of the British Museum. One sketch, dated 1501, with the monogram, has studies of the Eve in various poses; on another are studies for the figure of Adam, dated 1504. In the first finished study for the plate the figures are drawn against a dark, washed-in background, whereas in the finished composi-



ST. EUSTACHIUS

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elaborate finish of his small oil pictures. Barbari, known in Venice as the Master of the Caduceus, from the Mercury's wand with which he signed his pictures, was the originator of an elaborate system of measurement by which he could calculate the proportions of the human form, which much interested Dürer's inquiring mind, for he writes: "He (Barbari) showed me a man and woman which he had drawn by rule and measure, so that at that time I would rather have understood the meaning than seen a new kingdom; and if I knew it I would have it printed in his honour and for the public good. But at that time I was too young and did not understand such things. But art became very dear to me, and I began to think how I could find out the matter: for I noticed that this Jacobus I mentioned before did not intend to show me his method clearly. So I applied myself to the matter and read Vitruvius, who partially describes the proportions of a man. From one or both of these two men I have gained my start, and have according to my resolve studied it day by day."

Two plates engraved in the year 1505, known as the "Great Horse" and the "Little Horse," show the immense progress Dürer had made in

his study of animal drawings since he drew the horses of the "Riders of the Apocalypse," or the horse in the plate of "St. Eustachius." In technical excellence these two plates are on a level with the "Adam and Eve" of 1504.

The "Great White Horse" stands in front of a column, on the top of which the feet of a statue are still in the picture. A man in armour stands beside the horse.

In the "Little Horse" a man in armour is again standing by his steed; small wings are on the man's helmet and ankles. This has led to the print being sometimes called the "Mercury," while the other has been called the "Hercules."

From the year 1504-5 Dürer was working at two series of woodcuts—namely, "The Great Passion" and "The Life of the Virgin." Dürer's power of invention is once more lavished on the scriptural scenes he so delighted in. The seven first woodcuts of the "Great Passion" were executed before Dürer's journey to Venice; the last four and the title-page were not finished till 1511, the date of the publication of this work. These drawings are on the same large scale as those of the "Apocalypse"; the compositions are in the same manner as this first series. The scenes

of the different stages of the Passion are represented with faithful insistence on the sufferings of the "Man of Sorrows."

The seven first prints of this series, designed in Dürer's best manner, consist firstly of "Christ on the Mount of Olives," kneeling in prayer, stretching out pathetic hands as though to refuse the cup of sorrow the angel is offering; the disciples in the foreground are asleep; the Roman soldiers, with Judas Iscariot, approach through the garden gate. Then follow "The Scourging" and the "Ecce Homo." The fourth cut, "Christ bearing the Cross," is probably one of the best known of this series. The Christ has sunk on one knee, borne down by the weight of his cross, which he grasps with one arm. St. Veronica kneels to wipe the blood from his face with a napkin; a soldier drags him along with a rope. The fifth cut is "The Crucifixion." This fine drawing has a group on either side of the cross. On the one side the Roman centurion on horseback, on the other the fainting Virgin is supported by the disciples. Two angels hold chalices to collect the Saviour's blood; the sun and moon, as in his early plates, are drawn with human faces. The sixth

and seventh cuts represent the Lamentation and the Entombment. These woodcuts are roughly engraved. The most beautiful set of drawings Dürer accomplished on the subject of the Passion were never engraved, but seem to have been studies for his own pleasure. Done on green paper, in pencil and white chalk, they have received the name of the "Green Passion," and are dated 1504. These beautiful drawings are in the Albertina Collection at Vienna. They represent the sad scenes of the great tragedy with refinement, surrounding the varied pictures with an atmosphere of poetry that is missing in the rougher handling of the scenes in the "Great Passion," which were probably calculated to suit the taste of the mass of the people. We have twelve drawings in this series: "The Betrayal," "Christ before Pilate," "Christ before Caiaphas," "The Flagellation," "The Crown of Thorns," the "Ecce Homo," "Christ bearing the Cross," "The Nailing to the Cross," "The Crucifixion," "The Descent from the Cross," "The Entombment," and "The Resurrection."

About the same time Dürer must have been working at the most beautiful of his series of woodcuts—"The Life of the Virgin," which he accomplished between 1504 and 1505, ex-

cepting the three last cuts, which were not published till 1510.

Dürer chose a smaller size for these famous woodblocks; consequently the work is finer and more elegant. The gospel narrative is illustrated with charming pictures that place the Holy Family amidst scenes of everyday life, often with entirely Nürnberg backgrounds, without in the least detracting from the sacredness of his subject. We have, in fact, a poetical appeal to the domestic feelings of the nation, simple in idea and beautiful in construction.

Dürer never gave us more characteristic work from his pencil, work so entirely German in its essentials, that combined sentiment with realistic treatment of a religious motive.

The first cut shows the Rejection of Joachim's Offering, which illustrates the old legend that his offering was refused before God by the High Priest because he and his wife Anna were childless. The second cut represents the Angel appearing to Joachim in the Desert, whither he has retired in deep dejection. The angel, holding a parchment with pendant seals, brings him the glad tidings that a daughter shall be born to him. A group of shepherds gaze at the angel in wondering

awe; their sheep feed in the pasture at the edge of a wood; in the far distance is the sea-shore. In the third cut we see Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate—his joyful return to the city. A group of neighbours stand near them; through the arch of the gate we see a hilly country. The fourth cut, "The Birth of the Virgin," suddenly transfers us to Nürnberg. Dürer has simply depicted a family scene in a neighbouring house. If it were not for the angel hovering over the bed, there would be no hint that the new-born Babe was but an ordinary little Nürnberg citizen, just arrived to rejoice her mother's heart. "The Presentation in the Temple" is the fifth cut. The child Mary climbs the steps of the Temple to present herself to the High Priest. A group of relations and money-changers are grouped at the foot of the steps. The sixth cut, "The Betrothal of Joseph and Mary," shows the High Priest blessing their union under a fine Gothic arch, through which we see the pillars of the sanctuary. The High Priest and St. Joseph are in Eastern robes; the bride and her attendants wear Nürnberg coifs and gowns. In the seventh cut, "The Annunciation," the angel appears to Mary, who is seated at a carved desk, with meekly folded hands, in

a vaulted room supported by four columns. The eighth cut, "The Visitation," is one of the most beautiful of the series. Elizabeth has come over the distant hills and valleys we see in the background to greet Mary. The two women meet and embrace in the foreground; St. Joseph stands in the doorway. The ninth cut shows us the ruined stable, the scene of "The Nativity." The Virgin, surrounded by little angels, kneels and adores the Infant; St. Joseph approaches on the left, carrying a lantern; to the right we have a group of shepherds. The tenth cut is "The Circumcision" within the Temple. The eleventh cut represents "The Adoration of the Magi." This favourite subject of Dürer's, who evidently delighted in the contrast offered by the splendour of the Eastern magnates to the simplicity of the Holy Family, is composed on much the same lines as his great oil-painting of the same subject in the Uffizi Gallery. It seems probable that this drawing was the first study for the magnificent picture in the Tribuna. The twelfth cut is "The Purification," which is represented in the court of the Temple. In the thirteenth cut, "The Flight into Egypt," Joseph leads the ass, which bears the Virgin and Child, past a group of date palms on the

winding path that leads across a little bridge towards a wood in the background. The following cut, the fourteenth, "The Repose in Egypt," is probably the favourite of this series. The wandering family have found a temporary home beneath sheltering ruins. We see the Holy Family outside the ruined house engaged in their daily occupations. St. Joseph plies the axe, roughly shaping a log of wood; little angels play round him, and gather up the chips into a big basket. The Virgin sits and spins close by while rocking the cradle; angels bring her flowers and kneel in adoration by the Infant. She is radiantly happy—an idyllic type of youthful motherhood. We cannot do better than quote Thausing's words: "This series of woodcuts touches powerfully a strong chord of German feeling, it is in fact the apotheosis of German home-life, crowned with the fulness of Divine approval." The painter here teaches the new ethics that Luther declared in joyful accents to his countrymen when he stated "that marriage was the most excellent state on earth, that there existed no companionship more full of love, of friendship, or of bliss, than a happy wedded life." In the fifteenth cut we have "Christ disputing with the Doctors." The sixteenth

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and last cut that was finished before Dürer's journey to Venice is "Christ's Farewell to his Mother," before his last journey to Jerusalem. The note of coming tragedy rings through this drawing. The Virgin, no longer young and happy, sinks to the ground in anguish at the parting, while the dignified figure of Christ raises his hand in parting blessing. The vignette that forms the title-page of this work—the Virgin and Child seated on the crescent moon surrounded by a halo of light, the fine cuts of "The Death of the Virgin," "The Assumption of the Virgin," and "The Adoration of the Virgin and Child by Saints and Angels," were not composed till the year 1510.

Dürer's numerous studies for his engravings and pictures are thought, after his death, to have become the property of Wilibald Pirckheimer, passing later into the hands of the Imhoffs, the Nürnberg bankers, great friends of Dürer's, whom he mentions in his journal and to whose care he consigned his bales of goods on leaving Antwerp. This family of Imhoff sold a large portion of the collection to Kaiser Rudolf II., who was a great art-collector. These sketches thus went to Prague or Vienna, and so by degrees found their

way into the Albertina Collection of Vienna. Another collection has gradually been formed in the Print Room of the Berlin Museum; while another portion was sold to Holland, and later became the property of Sir Hans Sloane, and is now in the Print Room of the British Museum.

In the British Museum collection is a delightful pen-and-ink drawing of the Virgin and Child, dated 1503, with the monogram. The Virgin and Child are seated; the Virgin's draperies flow round her in large statuesque folds; a satchel and keys hang from her waist. The drawing is mapped out with red ink. The study of a "Head of Christ" in agony, done in charcoal, bears the same date, 1503, and the monogram. A nearly illegible inscription at the foot of the drawing states that Dürer drew this head during a severe illness. Another sketch in pen and ink of the same date is probably the study for the "Apollo and Daphne" he drew to illustrate one of Celtes' books. The figures are nude. Apollo holds a disk of the sun in his left hand, in his right a sceptre. "Apolo" is written in reverse across the disk; the rays of the sun touch the kneeling figure of Daphne. This figure is unfinished; the head and right arm are only

indicated. Another very elaborate pen-and-ink drawing represents the Fall of the Angels, a semi-circular composition. It is probably a study for a portion of the Jost Schilling Altar-piece. The donor kneels in the crowd ; his coat-of-arms is tinted pink.

CHAPTER VI

DÜRER'S LIFE IN VENICE 1505-1507, AND RETURN TO NÜRNBERG

Commission to paint an altar-panel—"The Feast of the Rose Chaplets"—Letters to Pirkheimer—The "Virgin with the Finch"—"Christ disputing with the Doctors"—Dürer's connection with Italian artists—Portraits painted in Venice—His return to Nürnberg—The "Adam and Eve" panels—"The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand"—"The Assumption of the Virgin," or Heller altar-panel—The All Saints' altar-piece, or "The Adoration of the Trinity"—Dürer's middle period—Portraits of Kaiser Karl der Grosse and Kaiser Sigismund painted for the Rath—Dürer as sculptor.

DÜRER started on his second journey to Venice in the year 1505. One cause of this expedition was to protest before the Signoria at the piracy of his woodcuts by Marc Antonio Raimondi of that city. We find, however, that he only succeeded in obtaining an interdiction against the use of his monogram. The second and most material object of this journey was to undertake an important com-

mission from his compatriots the German merchants of Venice.

The "Fondaco dei Tedeschi," the German merchants' trading centre, had been burnt down during the winter of 1504-1505. This was now to be rebuilt by the architect Hieronymus of Augsburg. Augsburg and Nürnberg merchants stood at the head of the German colony in Venice, the Fuggers of Augsburg, Anton Kolb and Leonhard Hirschvogel of Nürnberg holding the chief sale-rooms at the Fondaco. These wealthy merchants decided to have an altar-panel painted for their chapel of San Bartolommeo during the time the Fondaco was rebuilding. Augsburg had been honoured with the choice of an architect; Nürnberg was deputed to send an artist to undertake the execution of this order; Dürer was selected for the work through the influence of Anton Kolb, a great friend of Pirkheimer's.

The subject of this important picture is the Glorification of the Virgin, or "The Feast of the Rose Chaplets" or rosaries.

The Virgin with the Holy Child on her knee sits enthroned in the midst of a smiling landscape, surrounded by kneeling worshippers. Cherubs hold a magnificent crown above her head. The Virgin crowns the kneeling figure

of Kaiser Maximilian ; the Holy Child places a chaplet on the head of the kneeling Pope, Julius II. St. Dominic, the founder of the Fête of the Rosary, and numerous little angels place rose chaplets on the heads of the kneeling groups behind the chief figures. Kaiser Maximilian and Pope Julius are portraits ; the kneeling figures on either side are no doubt portraits of the merchants ; the figure holding a square is probably the architect Hieronymus. In the middle distance, under a tree, we see Dürer and his friend Pirkheimer. Dürer holds a scroll which bears the inscription, "Exegit quinquemestri spatio Albertus Dürer Germanus. M.D.VI." with the monogram below.

The picture is joyous and graceful in composition ; it shows more traces of Italian influence than any of Dürer's other paintings. A beautiful figure, an angel playing on a lute, reclines at the feet of the Virgin. A landscape and distant town form the background. This fine picture, now in the monastery of Strahow, near Prague, did not remain very long at San Bartolommeo, but was sold to Kaiser Rudolf II. for a large sum, who caused it to be moved to Prague. An old copy of this "Feast of the Rose Chaplets" is in the Hof Museum at Vienna, which in some

measure gives a better impression of the picture than the original, which is much faded and damaged.

Dürer's letters to his friend Pirkheimer at this period give many interesting details about the painting of this picture, as well as of his life among the Italian artists. This residence in Venice was a series of halcyon days for Dürer, his spirits seem to expand in the genial atmosphere; he works with pleasure at his great picture for the chapel of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

Dürer arrived in Venice in the late autumn of 1505; in the following January he had begun to work on the big picture. In his first letter to Pirkheimer, dated January 6th, 1506, he says: "For the picture I have to do for the Germans I shall receive one hundred and ten Rhenish florins, while the expenses will hardly exceed five. Within eight days I shall have grounded the panel and scraped it down, when I shall at once begin on it, so that, please God, it will be in its place over the altar a month after Easter. I hope, please God, to save the whole of this money, and out of that I will repay you."

Pirkheimer had provided Dürer with the necessary funds to undertake this journey, and

the artist makes frequent allusions to this debt in his letters.

The great work did not proceed as rapidly as Dürer anticipated, for on February 7th he writes to Pirkheimer: "To-day only have I begun to compose my picture." He is now less confident about its success, and has come to the conclusion that the promised sum will not be in proportion to the work he is devoting to the panel. He declares that he would have made far more money if he had not accepted the merchants' commission. He writes again to Pirkheimer on April 2nd: "There is a tremendous lot of work in it; I can't possibly get it finished before Whitsuntide. You know what it costs to live; I have also bought several things, and have sent some money up north (home), so that I have not much in hand at present. But hear my intention, I have determined not to leave this place till I can repay you with thanks, and also have one hundred gulden to the good. I could have made the money easily if I had not this German panel to do, for, excepting the artists, all the world wishes me well."

How long the picture actually took Dürer to complete seems difficult to determine. He writes that he will be unable to return before autumn.

Letters to Pirkheimer in August and September are written in the highest spirits. He chaffs his friend gaily, asking him if he still "imagines that he is as young and charming as I, as he runs after the girls so!" Dürer sends "the girls" many messages, amongst others to "Eure Rechenmeisterin." In a letter dated September 23rd, 1506, he writes: "Know also that my panel is finished, as well as another picture the like of which I had not attempted before. Also know that in four weeks hence at longest I shall have finished here. I have still some portraits to do that I have promised, and because I must come home soon I have refused work since my panel was finished to the tune of two thousand ducats, as all here can tell you." Dürer allows himself the pleasure of praising his large panel to his friend; he writes again: "Know further that my panel says she would give a ducat for you to see how good and beautiful she is in colour! I have gained much praise from this painting but little profit. I have also silenced all the painters who said I was a good engraver but that I did not know how to manage my paints. Now everyone says they never saw more beautiful colouring." Or again, Dürer writes: "Both the Doge Leonardo Loredano

and the Patriarch Domenico Grimani came to see my panel before it was finished in my studio."

In answer to a letter of Pirkheimer's, who had written to tell of the honours and praise he was reaping from princes and councillors for his successful diplomatic services to the city, he writes: "And even as you are well pleased with yourself, I beg to announce to you that a more beautiful picture of the Madonna does not exist in the land, for all artists praise it, just like you are praised by your grantees; they say they have never seen a grander or more charming picture." Dürer must have counted the five months he tells us he took to paint this picture from April to September, 1506; the preceding months were no doubt employed in making sketches and studies for it. Several of these studies on tinted paper are in the Albertina Collection at Vienna, others in the National Library, Paris, and some at Bremen.

Dürer repeatedly writes of the pleasure the gay life around him affords to him, of his delight in the high spirits of his Italian friends. He cries out to Pirkheimer: "Oh, how I shall freeze away from this sun! Here I am a 'gentil-uomo'; at home I shall be but the

poor hanger-on." Dürer has many commissions to do for his friend, and alludes to the bargains or difficulties he experiences in buying jewels, carpets, Venetian glass, classical books, etc. Among other things Pirkheimer wished for some crane's feathers. "I cannot find you any of these 'fool's feathers' for your hat," writes Dürer, "but I have bought you a beautiful stone, a real bargain, for which I have already had double the price offered to me." These letters of Dürer's, written in the quaint manner of the times, are full of scraps and sentences both in Italian and Latin. They were discovered walled up in a room of Wilibald Imhoff's house in Nürnberg, while another one was discovered in the British Museum. Unfortunately only one of Wilibald Pirkheimer's answers has been found; this is written in Latin in the same chaffing spirit, the gay widower indulging in broad jokes. It would have been interesting to have the entire correspondence.

The "Virgin with the Finch," or "Virgin, Child, and Little St. John," formerly in the collection of the Marquis of Lothian, is now in the Berlin Museum. This picture, probably executed in Venice in 1506 (or possibly directly after Dürer's return to Nürnberg), shows the

influence of Italian surroundings as strongly as the large panel of the "Fête of the Rose Chaplets."

The Virgin, in three-quarter length, is enthroned, with a crimson curtain at her back, quite in the manner of Bellini. Two cherubs hold a crown over her head. The hair is drawn closely to the ears, but flows out in long wavy locks over her shoulders. Her rich attire and youthful grace of pose have much similitude to the Virgin of the Rose Chaplets. Her right hand rests on a large book ; in her left she receives a few lilies of the valley offered to her by a charming little St. John and an attendant boy-angel. The fair and radiant Infant is seated in her lap ; a little finch perches on his left arm ; in his right hand he waves a rattle. A landscape forms the background of this beautiful picture.

Another interesting picture done by Dürer while in Venice is "Christ disputing with the Doctors," a picture containing seven half-length figures, chiefly remarkable for its wonderful study of the hands and heads, which Dürer tells us he finished in five days. It may also be the picture Dürer alludes to in one of his letters "as being different to anything he had done before." The picture is in the

Barberini Palace at Rome, the study for the head of the Child Jesus is in the Albertina Collection. The studies for the hands of Jesus as well as those of the doctors are in the Hausmann Collection, Brunswick. These hands, clasped over ponderous tomes or raised in eager protestation, are fine examples of Dürer's sympathetic drawing; feet and hands in his figures are always full of character and most carefully studied. A label hangs from one of the books, which has the Dürer monogram and the inscription, "Opus quinque dierum. 1506."

Another gem, painted in Venice in 1506, which bears traces of the richer colouring of Dürer's palette under the influence of Italian skies, is the celebrated "Christ on the Cross" of the Dresden Gallery. This small picture is minutely finished; the open mouth shows the teeth and tongue. "Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum" is inscribed at the foot of the picture. The canvas is illuminated with a soft evening light that lingers over the low-lying line of hills and lake; a thick cloud forms the background, from which the torso and loin-cloth stand out white and mystic. The figure of Christ is conceived in a softer and less realistic manner than is usual in Dürer's delineation.

tions of this subject. The actual lines of pain are softened on the beautiful head crowned with thorns ; the delicate limbs are still God-like in their anguish.

It would be interesting to know how many of the great Italian artists Dürer met during his stay in Italy. We know that his intention to visit Mantegna at Mantua was frustrated by the sudden death of the old master on September 13th, 1506. Christopher Scheurl tells us that he was in Bologna in the year 1506, witnessing the ovation Dürer received from the artists when he visited that city in the month of October, while he was greeted with equal enthusiasm on passing through Ferrara. Dürer wished to join Kaiser Maximilian on his proposed progress to Rome, but neither Kaiser nor artist accomplished this intention.

In Venice Dürer was on friendly terms with both the brothers Bellini. He wrote to Pirckheimer that "Giambellini has praised me before many of the nobles ; he is very anxious to have something of mine. He himself came to me, and asked me to paint something for him, promising to pay me well. People all tell me that he is a very upright man, so that I feel much drawn towards him. Although such an old man he is still the best painter here."

A pretty anecdote related by Camerarius shows the friendship between the old artist and Dürer. During a visit to Dürer's studio Gian Bellini begged, as a mark of friendship, for one of the fine brushes Dürer used to paint hair. Dürer at once offered him a handful of brushes to choose from. Bellini, thinking he had not understood him, again asked for one of the special brushes he used to paint hair with. Dürer assures him that these are his only brushes, and to convince the old man sits down and paints a lock of hair for him with one of them. Bellini, delighted, allowed afterwards that he could never have believed it if he had not seen it with his own eyes.

Titian, then a young man of about twenty, was painting in Bellini's studio at this time, as well as Lorenzo Lotti; while Giorgione was working at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi from 1506 to 1508. In Bologna, to which town Dürer travelled, Francesco Raibolini, called Il Francia, was at the head of the Bolognese school. Dürer does not seem to have had any intercourse with either of his great contemporaries Michael Angelo or Leonardo da Vinci. It is however probable that he studied both Leonardo da Vinci's and Verrocchio's writings and studies on the proportions of

the horse, for he commenced to make studies for his engraving of "The Knight, Death, and Devil" while in Venice. In this case the horse is drawn with a much finer knowledge of anatomy than in his earlier prints. Dürer's beautiful woodcuts illustrating "The Life of the Virgin" were well known in Italy, and were the cause of some intercourse between him and Rafael in the year 1510. Dürer's engravings probably reached Rafael, in the first place, through the engraver Marc Antonio Raimonde, who we know was so interested in them that he repeated them himself on copper. Ludovico Dolci relates that many of Dürer's engravings hung in Rafael's studio at Urbino. An interchange of courtesies between the masters took place in 1516, when Dürer sent a portrait of himself, drawn in water-colours on parchment, to Rafael. This picture is mentioned by Vasari, who says it was much praised by Rafael, who left it as an heirloom to Giulo Romano. On the receipt of this drawing Rafael returned his brother artist's compliment by sending him a drawing of a nude figure, the study for the captain in his picture of "The Victory of Ostia." On the back of this drawing, that is now in the Albertina, Vienna, there is a note in Dürer's

handwriting : " 1515. Raphahill di Urbin, der so hoch beim Papst geacht ist gewest, der hat dyze nackete Bild gemacht und hat seg dem Albrecht Dürer gen Nornberg geschickt. Im sein hand zu weissen " (Rafael di Urbino, who is so high in favour with the Pope, he drew this nude figure and sent it to Albrecht Dürer at Nürnberg, to show him his handiwork).

Several portraits were painted before Dürer left Venice, as he tells us in a letter "that he must have another four weeks to finish them." One of these portraits is in Genoa, at the Palazzo Brignole. This portrait shows us a young man, presumably German. The panel is dated 1506, and has the monogram, also an inscription in gold lettering : "Albertus Dürer germanus faciebat post virginis partum." Another of these portraits may be traced to the picture catalogued as "A Young Man" in Hampton Court Palace.

Dürer's return to his native city did not take place till the year 1507, these portrait commissions keeping him longer in Venice than he at first intended. There is another portrait in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna of this date, 1507. It depicts a young man with fair hair, moustache, and beard, probably one of the merchants of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

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The reverse side of this painting is most interesting, for on it Dürer has painted a half-length figure supposed to represent "Avarice" — a hideous old woman with a long nose, laughing maliciously, which displays the only two remaining teeth in her head. In one hand she holds a bag, from which she is counting out gold pieces. This picture is in good preservation; the crimson drapery and warm colouring are fresh and luminous. It has been suggested that this study was meant as a rough joke at the avariciousness of his sitter, who had not paid him adequately for his portrait. It does not, however, seem very likely that Dürer, who at that time was very eager to make all the money he could, should have presented his sitter with this sketch. It seems to me to be far more likely that the picture of the old woman did not find a purchaser; therefore Dürer utilised the panel once again for a more paying venture.

Dürer must have felt himself at the height of his powers when he returned to Nürnberg. The influence of the Italian school, the opportunities afforded him of a broader view of art and more liberal study of the nude than could have been possible for him to obtain in Nürnberg, had given him a freer, broader

technique, which is perceptible in the treatment of his portrait heads. Without in the least losing his characteristic German method and conception, he has distinctly enlarged, as well as refined, his manner of painting and composition. Dürer loved his own city too well to care to remain away indefinitely, although the Signoria had made him flattering offers of patronage and the bright skies of Italy appealed to him; but the influence of his sojourn in Venice is felt in many of the fine pictures he painted soon after his return.

To this period we owe the panels of "Adam" and of "Eve," in which, stimulated by Italian precedent, he paints two magnificent nude figures of such fine technique and form that they stand out as masterpieces in a branch of art that had not been attempted before by German artists. The engraving of "Adam and Eve" on copper of 1504 was now followed at the zenith of his power by the painting.

The Prado Museum at Madrid, as well as the Pitti Palace, Florence, both claim to have the original paintings. Both sets of panels bear so unmistakably the imprint of the master's hand that it is generally concluded that Dürer must have painted a replica of his subject, only varying the background of his pictures.

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The Madrid pictures are the best preserved. Here we have the figures of Adam and Eve against a plain dark background; tree and apples are only slightly indicated, while the panels of the Pitti Palace have a background of trees and animals which corresponds to the engraving of 1504. The panel of the "Eve" in Madrid has a small tablet hanging from a branch of the tree, which is inscribed "*Albertus Dürer alemanus faciebat post virginis partum, 1507.*"

The figures are full of life and joy. Adam receives the apple in one hand, the other is spread out with a somewhat protesting gesture; but the slightly opened mouth gives an eager expression to the beautiful head. Eve is stepping lightly forward with an apple in one hand, smiling, but with a more questioning expression on her face. The flesh tone is brilliant, the shadows grey and delicate; the free brush-work of the hair, the bolder modelling, show how Dürer has gained from his Italian associates.

Dürer's next large picture, a commission from his old patron, "*Friederich der Weise,*" Elector of Saxony, is of a very different class. It represents the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand, or the execution of Persian Christians

under King Sapor. This disagreeable subject has been confronted by Dürer with his usual thoroughness and careful drawing of the numerous nude figures. It says much for his ingenuity that he has succeeded in arranging such a mass of figures into a clever series of groups, some of which by a bold treatment of his landscape scheme he has thrown into the background, thus reducing many of the figures to a very small scale. These groups of Christians are suffering many forms of death and torture, while the Persian King, sceptre in hand, surrounded by his nobles, directs the operation from horseback. In the very centre of the picture we see Dürer and Pirkheimer, standing arm-in-arm, surveying the scene. A label stuck in a cleft stick which Dürer carries bears this inscription: "Iste faciebat anno domini 1508 Albertus Dürer Alemanus." The figures and accessories are all minutely finished. Dürer had previously executed a woodcut of the same subject, which probably led to the Elector's commission for the large picture. This picture is now in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna.

Dürer's next large picture, "The Assumption of the Virgin," was a favourite work of his own. He writes to Jacob Heller, 24th August,

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1508, to Frankfort-on-Main: "Know that I never in all my life began a work which pleased me better than the one I am painting for you."

Jacob Heller had commissioned Dürer to paint him a triptych for the altar of the Dominican church of St. Thomas, in Frankfort-on-Main, where he and his wife wished to be buried. Heller offered to pay Dürer one hundred and thirty florins for this work, but Dürer succeeded in getting the sum raised to two hundred florins by promising to paint the whole of the centre panel with his own hand, writing to him: "No one shall paint a stroke but myself."

The subject of this picture evidently appealed strongly to Dürer, who at once with his usual energy commenced to make sketches for the groups of the Apostles. These studies are all done with Indian ink on grey paper, with lights touched in with white. These studies, some of which are in the Berlin Museum, have become exceptionally valuable from the fact that the centre panel, on which Dürer lavished so much love and skill, has been destroyed by fire. This panel formed the centre of a large altar decoration, which included four side panels and portraits of Jacob Heller and his wife Katharina done by an assistant artist.

The centre panel, "The Assumption of the Virgin," shows us a fine group of Apostles who stand and kneel round the empty grave, gazing up into heaven, where the Virgin is enthroned on clouds; she receives the heavenly crown from God the Father, and God the Son. The Virgin is draped in blue, a white veil covers her head. The figures of the Godhead are majestic and dignified; the draperies of the Christ are scarlet, he wears a triple crown; the magnificent robes of God the Father are gold and yellowish brown. Beneath the clouds we see a hilly landscape with a river and trees. Dürer stands on a little hill supporting a tablet with one hand, with the other he points to the inscription on it: "Albertus Duerer Alemanus, Faciebat Post Virginis Partum 1509" (Albrecht Dürer, German, painted this picture fifteen hundred and nine years after the birth of Christ).

This picture was placed in the Dominican church at Frankfort in 1509, where it remained the property of the monks till the year 1516, when it was sold by them to the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, who had it removed to Munich, where it was destroyed in the fire that burnt down the royal palace, 9th of April, 1674. The Dominican monks had taken care to have the original picture replaced by a copy

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by the Nürnberg artist, Paul Juvenal, before it left their church. This copy is now in the Saalhof at Frankfort. Several letters passed between Jacob Heller and Dürer on the subject of this picture, which have afforded us many interesting details concerning it. Heller was a difficult man to deal with and very anxious the picture should be worth the money he was paying for it. In a letter dated March 19th, 1508, Dürer informs Heller "that he has received the panel for the picture from the carpenter and paid for it, and is having it primed, stained, and gilded." He writes further: "I shall have finished Duke Friederich's picture in less than a fortnight, when I commence on yours, then I shall not touch another picture until it is finished." Another letter, dated August 24th, 1508, states "that in all my days I never commenced a piece of work that pleased me better than this one I am engaged on for you. I am only grieved that winter will so soon overtake me, the days are getting so short it will not be easy to accomplish much work." Dürer was more than a year completing this picture, much to the annoyance of Heller, who was impatient to receive it, but at last, on August 24th, 1509, he writes to announce that he has sent

it off, when he again returns to the vexed question of price and says, "I have already been offered three hundred gulden for your picture here in Nürnberg, but I would rather keep your friendship than gain another hundred guldens, also I would rather the panel went to Frankfort than to any other town in Germany. It is painted over several times with the best colours I could procure. It is painted over as well with the best ultramarine. I am sure if you take care of it it will last fresh for over five hundred years, for it is not painted in an ordinary manner, so take care of it and don't let people sprinkle it with holy water or touch it." Dürer sends minute directions about unpacking and placing the picture; he says, "If I come to you in about two or three years' time the panel must be taken down, then when it is very dry I will re-varnish it with a very particular varnish that no one else has, when it will again last a further hundred years. Be sure and let no one else varnish it, as all other varnishes are yellow, and you would have your panel spoilt. Be careful of it, then you will hear from all artists, both in your own city and other places, how (well) it is done."

The side panels were evidently inferior; Duke Maximilian did not attempt to acquire them

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when he bought Dürer's favourite panel, thus becoming the indirect cause of its destruction about a hundred years after it left the studio in Nürnberg.

The "All Saints' Altar-piece," or the "Adoration of the Trinity," is the last large altar-piece that Dürer painted. About the year 1500 two worthy Nürnberg burghers—Erasmus Schildkröt and Mathaeus Landauer the copper-smith—had built and endowed almshouses for twelve old men which were known as the "Landauer-Kloster." The chapel belonging to this institution was nearly completed when Dürer returned from Venice in 1507, when he was entrusted by Landauer with the decoration of the interior. The designs for the stained-glass windows are Dürer's; they are dated 1508.

The chapel was dedicated to the "Holy Trinity," which thus suggested the subject of "The Adoration of the Trinity" for the large panel. The first sketch for this picture was made in the year 1508, including the design for the handsome Renaissance frame in which the picture was to be set. The designs for the windows illustrate the Last Judgment, but the narrow windows precluded the introduction of many figures in their composition. The three-light window depicts the Adoration of

the Trinity by angels, the two-light windows the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and the Elect or Saints of God conducted to Paradise by apostles and angels. Here Dürer introduced the portrait of Mathaeus Landauer, the donor. The same circle of ideas is continued in the altar panel and on the great frame; the remains of these windows have been put together again by help of the original designs.

The great frame is designed in imitation of the Italian Renaissance. Two Corinthian columns support a frieze; the figures carried out in high relief depict the Last Judgment. On one side devils drive the lost souls into Hell, on the other side the saints are led to Paradise. In the tympanum we see Christ enthroned as Judge of the World between the Virgin and St. John. In the large panel the central figure is God the Father enthroned on the arch of a rainbow amidst rolling clouds; a crown is on his head, and richly brocaded robes flow round his majestic figure. He supports the Saviour nailed to the cross on his knees; over them hovers the Holy Dove. Two semi-circles of angels adore the Trinity; beneath them is another circle composed of saints. To the left the Virgin heads the female saints, to the right we see St. John and

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David. A lower circle depicts the Church on earth, headed by Pope and Kaiser. A cardinal holds out his hand to the kneeling figure of an old man, Mathaeus Landauer, the donor of the picture. On the earth beneath, on the high bank of a river, we see Dürer standing in a furred mantle; he holds the usual tablet, which is inscribed: "Albertus Dürer, Noricus Facie, Bat-Anno A. Virginis Partu. 1511," with the monogram.

The picture is painted in soft golden tones; the sun, risen above the water, touches the clouds with rosy hues which gradually melt into the radiant glory that encircles the Trinity. The figure of Christ stands out against the widely spread robes that flow from the majestic figure of God the Father.

This picture may be considered as the apotheosis of Dürer's work in connection with the Roman Catholic religion—the last large altar-piece he painted, which, commissioned by a fellow-burgher, was destined for his dearly loved birthplace.

Dürer's three great pictures of this type—the "Feast of the Rose Chaplets," the "Assumption of the Virgin," and this "Adoration of the Trinity"—are all fine examples of his middle period.

Nürnberg kept the last of these pictures for about a century, when it was sold by the "Rath" to Kaiser Rudolf II. and sent to Prague. It is now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, and still in a fine state of preservation. No doubt painted in the same manner as the "Assumption of the Virgin," this picture has verified Dürer's saying that his colours would be as bright after a lapse of five hundred years. His technique evidently consisted of several coats of tempera colour on the firmly outlined drawing, finished by transparent glazing in oil colours. The original frame remained in Nürnberg, and has become the property of the Germanisches Museum.

The Imperial Gallery possesses another fine picture of this period—the charming small canvas of the "Virgin with the Cut Pear," dated 1512. The half-length figure of the Virgin is nearly life size. A dark background throws the fair head, draped with a thin white veil, into strong relief; the flesh tones are soft and grey; the hair, painted with Dürer's especial verve, falls in graceful locks on her neck. The Holy Child lies in her arms with his rosy limbs tossed against her breast; he holds a piece of pear in his hand. This "Virgin with the Cut Pear" is in fine preser-

vation, and ranks amongst the most beautiful of Dürer's Madonnas. The veil over the head is very German in feeling. The picture, in many ways, has much affinity with the conception of the Virgin in "The Adoration of the Magi" of 1504. This picture may be the Virgin which Dürer mentions in one of his letters as having been sold to the Bishop of Breslau for seventy-five gulden.

The Rath of Nürnberg at this time honoured Dürer with the commission to paint two historical portraits—one of Kaiser Karl der Grosse, the other of Kaiser Sigismund—for the adornment of the Nürnberg Heiligsthum Kammer (the Relic Chamber), where the Imperial Regalia, the Crown Jewels, and many relics were preserved. Karl der Grosse represented the Holy Roman Empire. Sigismund was the first Kaiser who entrusted the Regalia to the keeping of his faithful burghers in the year 1424. This was the first commission that Dürer received from the "Ehrbare Herrn" of his native town, although he had become a member of the Great Council in 1509, when he also purchased his house in the Thiergärtner Thor.

These two pictures are still in Nürnberg at the Germanisches Museum, both of heroic

proportions, considerably over life size. The fine figure of Karl der Grosse is drawn in full face, three-quarter length, robed in the historical coronation robes, bearing the orb and sword of state, wearing the imperial crown. The arms of Germany and France—a single-headed eagle on a golden ground, and golden fleur-de-lis on an azure ground—are painted on the background. The bearded head is idealised to represent the typical German Emperor; but von Eye tells us that Johannes Stabius, the Court poet and historian, sat to Dürer for this picture. There are pen-and-ink studies in the Albertina of the regalia that Dürer did for this picture.

The portrait of Kaiser Sigismund is of the same size, and was done from an old portrait. This is a presentment of a fair-haired man with a moustache and very pointed nose, not in the least idealised, and without much interest.

On the completion of these pictures for his native town Dürer for a time, as he had threatened to do on completing "The Assumption of the Virgin," laid aside his paints and palette to devote himself almost entirely to engraving, and carrying out black-and-white work commissioned by his chief patron, Kaiser Maximilian.

Dürer has also been called a sculptor, from the fact that numerous small reliefs in hone-stone and ivory, dated 1510-12, have been attributed to his hand. One of a series of the Life of St. John the Baptist, "The Birth of St. John," is in the British Museum. This carving is very finely carried out in honestone in high relief, dated 1510, with the Dürer monogram, and has all the characteristics of Dürer's drawings, but there is not the least evidence that it is from his own hand. It is more probable that he furnished the design for a fellow-artist; the monogram is probably an easily made later addition. With all Dürer's diligence and versatility, it does not seem possible that he could have found time to become an expert stonecutter, any more than that he engraved his own woodblocks.

We know that Dürer could work in metal, as he received his earliest training in his father's shop as a goldsmith's apprentice, so that a little plaque of silver in low relief, dated 1509, with the monogram, may easily be from his own hand. This little plaque was on a small casket presented to Helena Imhoff on her wedding day. It is still in the possession of the Imhoff family.

CHAPTER VII

DÜRER'S WOODCUTS AND ENGRAVINGS—HIS WORK FOR KAISER MAXIMILIAN, 1511-1519

Title-page added to *The Apocalypse*—Title-page added to *The Life of the Virgin* and three new plates—Additions made to *The Great Passion* before publication—*The Little Passion*—Wood-engraving of "The Adoration of the Trinity"—*The Copper Passion*—Famous engravings: "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," "Melancholia," "St. Jerome in his Study"—Dürer's etchings: "The Arch of Triumph" and "The Triumphal Procession"—Drawings for Kaiser Maximilian's Prayer-book—Dürer at Augsburg—The Kaiser's portrait—Death of Kaiser Maximilian—"St. Antoninus"—"The Sword-hilt."

IN the year 1511, the year in which Dürer completed "The Adoration of the Trinity," he published his three chief series of woodcuts—*The Apocalypse*, *The Life of the Virgin*, and *The Great Passion*—in book form, to which he had added several illustrations after his return from Venice. The *Apocalypse* is printed in the old Gothic lettering, with the new title-page, the Virgin appearing to

St. John the Divine, clothed with the sun and stars on her head. In the remaining two works the Latin couplets composed by the Benedictine monk Chelidonium are printed in the new or Latin lettering. The new title-page now added to *The Life of the Virgin* shows a beautiful drawing of the Virgin and Child, seated on the crescent moon, surrounded by an aureole of light, magnificently rendered with firm strokes; while the further addition of the three fine plates representing "The Death of the Virgin," "The Assumption of the Virgin," and "The Adoration of the Virgin," show a marked improvement on the execution of the sixteen earlier cuts. Dürer's Formschneider are now able to reproduce his fine delicate lines with accuracy, to attain great clearness and softness of tone. "The Death of the Virgin" shows us the Apostles who surround the bed of the dying Virgin, who holds a holy candle in one hand, while holy water is sprinkled over her, and incense fills the air. "The Assumption of the Virgin" much resembles the composition of the Heller altar-piece. The concluding cut, "The Adoration of the Virgin," shows us the Virgin and Child seated amidst adoring saints and angels, not enthroned in far-away state in the heavens,

but a gracious mediatrix between God and mankind.

The cuts of *The Great Passion*, each measuring 15 by 11 inches, were also augmented before their publication in book form by a title-page, "Christ mocked by the Jews," an introductory cut entitled "The Last Supper," and three others, respectively entitled "The Betrayal," "The Descent into Hell," and "The Resurrection."

The subject of the Passion of Christ still engrosses Durer's imagination, or the success of his folios induces him to publish yet another series illustrating the Passion, consisting of thirty-seven cuts, each measuring about five inches by four, in a simple and popular form. This series, usually known as *The Little Passion* to distinguish it from the large work, has an explanatory text in Latin distichs, written by Chelidonium. These little woodcuts are dated either 1509 or 1510; they are probably the best known of any of his drawings, plainly illustrating the main features of the Fall of Man, and of his Redemption, which are narrated in devotional couplets.

The first group of drawings represents the Fall of Man, the Expulsion from Paradise, the Annunciation, and the Nativity. Then

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follow "Christ's Farewell to His Mother," "The Entry into Jerusalem," "The Last Supper," and "Christ driving the Money-changers from the Temple." The concluding group illustrates the incidents of Passion Week. This little book is dated 1511. Dürer printed and published these four books in his own house in the Thiergärtner Thor; they all bear his imprint: "Impressum Nürnbergae per Albertum Dürer pictorem."

One of Dürer's finest wood-engravings, dated 1511, was completed the same year as his large oil-painting "The Adoration of the Trinity"; it is, indeed, a variation of the central group of that picture. This woodcut of the Trinity illustrates the words: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to die upon the cross to save sinners." This woodcut is remarkable for its clearness and finish, as well as for the softness and greyness of the tone, which almost equals his copper engravings. Here we see God the Father seated above the clouds magnificently draped, with a pontifical crown on his head, supporting in his arms the moribund figure of Christ, whose agonised head sinks on his shoulder. The Holy Dove floats over them in a halo of light. Angels bearing the insignia

of the Passion are grouped to right and left, kneeling in awestruck reverence. The four winds of heaven are represented in the clouds by four heads, as in the drawings of *The Apocalypse*. The head of God the Father expresses love and grief, the human note of suffering is struck that appealed so forcibly to Dürer's heart in his affecting and realistic representation of the Passion.

"The Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory" is another fine woodcut of this date. A vision of the Man of Sorrows is vouchsafed to St. Gregory while he is celebrating Mass. Another large woodcut of 1511 is entitled "The Holy Family and Kinsfolk." This is, however, far more like one of Dürer's early woodcuts than the others belonging to this same period.

At this time Dürer had practically given up painting, which he seems to have found too slow a process, as he says to Heller, "this perpetual retouching does not go fast enough, I would rather be at my engraving again," in which branch of his art he was still working to perfect himself and to acquire greater freedom and knowledge in handling the burin.

In 1512 Dürer finished sixteen copper plates known as *The Copper Passion*, the most beautiful and refined rendering he has given us



CHRIST ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

1508

1508
1508

would, at this mature period of his life, hardly cover his aspirations. Dürer's connection with Wilibald Pirckheimer and the learned circle of Nürnberg, as well as his frequent intercourse with Kaiser Maximilian, for whom he undertook so many commissions during that art-loving monarch's residence at the Burg, were all drawing him nearer to the new ideas of the Renaissance.

These three plates have always been the most admired, as well as the most discussed of Dürer's black-and-white work. The very reason that the subjects have remained somewhat obscure has given an added zest to their study. Dürer was, we know, interested by one of the doctrines of the Humanists of his day, who considered that all men could be divided into four great categories according to their different Temperaments or Complexions. He remarks that before choosing a profession for a child "it is well to inquire carefully into his character, also to take into consideration the colour of his complexion." These three engravings may have been intended to illustrate this theory. The word "*Melancholia I.*" engraved on one of them has been considered to be the clue to this intention.

In the engraving of "The Knight, Death,

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and the Devil " the principal figure is a knight in full armour with lance in hand, and vizor raised, who rides, mounted on a powerful steed, into a gloomy gorge, whose steep banks and rugged tree-trunks will soon hide from his view the little town on a hill, silhouetted against the clear evening sky. A grim figure of Death holding up his hour-glass mounted on a miserable pony (nearly as wretched as the one in the woodcut of the Riders of *The Apocalypse*) shambles along beside him ; a quaint, horned devil stalks behind him, a skull lies in his path. His gallant steed, with headband adorned with a sprig of oak, paces steadily onward, his hound follows closely at his heels. The knight is undismayed at the grisly terrors that beset his path ; calm and courageous he resolutely follows his own set course, ready to complete the work before him even if it shall require him to be faithful unto death. The engraving is dated 1513, and has the Dürer monogram on the usual little tablet, but with the addition of a capital S. The "Sanguine" temperament seems to be indicated here.

The second print, the "St. Jerome in his Study," is a delightful example of the marvellous feeling of colour that Dürer succeeds in obtaining in his engravings. Through the

bottle-glass panes of the leaded windows a warm afternoon sun streams into the peaceful study where the saint is busy at his writing-desk, presumably at his great translation. The prisms dance across the wall, the warm light envelopes the holy man and throws up the minutely studied details of the room; his lion and dog slumber peacefully undisturbed by the hurrying pen. The cardinal's hat hanging against the wall indicates the rank of this Father of the Church. A little slate lies on the floor, on which we see the Dürer monogram and the date 1514. This engraving may stand for the "Phlegmatic" temperament, that tranquilly persists and achieves its object.

In strong contrast to this print is the third of the series, the "Melancholia," that attempts and despairs, torn asunder by the tormenting thought "that all is vanity"—attempts again, and will not be beaten. In all the allegorical pictures we know is there anything so haunting as this winged woman seated on the earth, pondering, working, hopeless yet still indomitable, surrounded by the symbols of time and justice, the appliances of science, the magic crystal, the mystic numbers? The cherub seated at her side is

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despondent, almost tearful; only the hound at her feet slumbers peacefully. The sands of time are running out over her head; far away over the sea and shore a comet flashes, and the great bow of promise shows magnificently in the heavens. Across this glory of sea and sky a dog-headed imp, with serpent's tail, bears a scroll inscribed "Melencolia I."

Who would not know what Dürer, the "dreamer of dreams in daylight," as he calls himself, was thinking of when he drew this mighty form with the great eagle wings, the wild eyes, and dogged, resolute pose! Can the regal form lift herself with those powerful wings into a higher atmosphere, encumbered as she is with the heavy dress, bag, and keys, the symbols of everyday life and wants? Does the wreath on the massive head signify that a guerdon has already been gained, that she typifies the indomitable spirit of man that strives and fails, but strives again, at last to conquer? Or will Dürer show us the desperate power of the imp "Melancholia," whose deadly influence saps the life of the soul that has yielded to his baneful power till it renounces its birthright of joy and light, indicated by the resplendent sky, the flashing comet, the bow of promise, till the mind, once crowned and

winged, is drawn down into the shades of mystic thought till despair, if not madness, flickers in the sombre eyes.

Dr. Paul Weber considers that these prints have no connection with each other except the sequence of their date. He reasons from the simple and ingenious proposition that if Dürer had considered them as a series he would not so often have made presents of one of these plates without the remaining two, which entries in his Journal show to have been his frequent practice. Joachim von Sandrart thought the "Knight, Death, and the Devil" represented a Christian Knight, or Knight of the Reformation as it is often called, the figures of Death and the Devil being simply the ordinary pictorial morality of the day. This title would have appealed to Dürer, who was a staunch partisan of Martin Luther, whose doctrines and teachings played so large a part in the development of the later years of his life. Dürer, writing to his friend Spalatin in 1520, thanking him for some of Luther's writings, says: "And if with God's help I come to Dr. Martinus Luther, I will both paint and engrave his portrait with equal care, for a lasting memorial of the Christian man who has helped me over so many religious difficulties."

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These three prints have also been summed up as the æsthetic qualities of mankind, namely "virtutes intellectuales," "virtutes morales," and "virtutes theologicales," thus illustrating the three chief phases of thought in Dürer's day.

In spite of the perfection of Dürer's copper plates, he was still experimenting with what he calls "a cold needle" in order to obtain a still lighter and freer style. His chief engraving in this style is the "St. Jerome with the willow tree." From this he proceeded to actual etching with the use of aqua fortis. His most celebrated etching is the "Great Cannon," dated 1518.

"The Virgin with two Angels," dated 1518, is one of Dürer's most charming engravings. Two angels hold a massive crown above the Virgin's head, who, the Holy Child on her knee, is seated in a garden with an apple in her hand. A tiny wreath of roses encircles her hair, the long wavy locks float over her shoulders and curl round her youthful face. A garden fence, with a landscape beyond, forms the background. An equally beautiful woodcut, again the Virgin and Child, is dated this same year, 1518. "Mary and the Child Jesus surrounded by Angels." The

Virgin and Holy Child are surrounded by angels, who hold fruit and flowers and musical instruments in their hands. At their feet most delightful little angels play and sing, and bring offerings of flowers. Two angels hold the crown above the Virgin's head, cherubs float in the air beyond them, the whole composition is enchantingly bright and spontaneous.

A pen-and-ink sketch of two angels holding a crown is probably the study for these prints. It is in the Print Room of the British Museum, where another beautiful pen-and-ink drawing without date, two little boys' heads, are evidently studies for the little Genius in the "Melancholia."

The residence of Kaiser Maximilian in his loyal city of Nürnberg for a short time in the year 1512, was the first occasion on which Dürer came into direct intercourse with his noble and art-loving patron, for whom he subsequently executed so many commissions, especially between 1514-1520. Kaiser Maximilian, the "Last of the Knights" as he was called by his people, was a romanticist, a man of fertile imagination, gifted with a poetic nature and love of art, who was imbued with a strong desire to have the chief records of his life and reign recorded by painter and

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poet, for whom he drew up sketches and notes to be carried out pictorially and poetically.

The Kaiser, with the aid of his most trusted friend, Johannes Stabius, historian, mathematician, and Court poet, had been engaged in collecting material for a huge wood-engraving, or series of wood-engravings, which was to represent, historically and allegorically, scenes from Maximilian's life. This great undertaking was to consist of two portions, the "Arch of Triumph" and the "Triumphal Procession."

Stabius recognised in Dürer the imaginative talent necessary for such an undertaking, entrusting to him the designs for this huge composition which from first to last employed the artists during three years. This curious composition measures about nine feet by ten; it consists of ninety-two separate cuts, forming continuous pictures or designs. The first half represented a Roman triumphal arch, decorated with scenes from Maximilian's life, or historical and allegorical figures, inscriptions and heraldic devices. These woodblocks were engraved by Hieronymus Andrea, the most skilful engraver of his time, with the assistance of Hans Franckh and Wolfgang Resch. This composition is dated 1515, in large black figures

at the head and foot of the drawing, but instead of Dürer's usual monogram we have his own coat-of-arms in juxtaposition with the laurel-crowned escutcheon of Stabius.

Kaiser Maximilian had undertaken that Dürer should be paid for this work by a total exemption from town taxes. This plan did not find favour in the eyes of the City Fathers; they refused to fall in with this scheme, sending a deputation of councillors to inform Dürer that it would be an unwelcome precedent in city customs and cause much bad feeling.

Dürer therefore sent a petition to the Kaiser, through his friend Christopher Krell of Nürnberg, then at the Imperial Court of Augsburg, to pray His Imperial Majesty to grant him a pension of 100 florins. This petition was graciously received. The Imperial "privelegium" is dated 6th September, 1515, wherein is stated "that a pension of one hundred Rhenish florins be paid to Albrecht Dürer for life in the Kaiser's name. Dürer received this pension regularly from the Rath till the Kaiser's death, when he was able to obtain the ratification of the deed "with great trouble and much labour" from his successor, Karl V., at Cologne in November, 1520.

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Dürer's time is still engrossed with the second half of the Kaiser's great composition of the Triumphal Procession, for which he drew the chief designs—the Car of Triumph, in which the Kaiser and his family are seated, and the groups representing Maximilian's wars. Letters that passed between the Kaiser and Pirkheimer in 1518 mention various details of the proposed cut, in which Pirkheimer suggests that, besides the chief group of the Kaiser, the Kaiserin, and the Royal Family, allegorical figures representing the virtues should surround the car. The sketch for this new design was approved by the Kaiser, but before it could be engraved his sudden death, January 12th, 1519, caused the whole undertaking to come to a standstill. These blocks were, however, collected later (in 1526) for Maximilian's grandson, King Ferdinand, who wished to see them completed. Hans Burgkmaier is mentioned as the artist who assisted Dürer in this large undertaking.

The most interesting specimens of Dürer's work executed for Kaiser Maximilian in 1515 are the marginal pen-and-ink drawings of the Imperial Book of Hours, or Prayer-book, especially printed for the Emperor's use by Johannes Schönsperger of Augsburg, on fine

vellum. This Prayer-book was decorated by Dürer, who filled the wide margins with red, green, and violet ink drawings, illustrating the Latin text of the page. These marginal drawings form the most characteristic and delightful imagery of Dürer's ready fancy. The graceful scrolls, arabesques, and foliage twine and wave about the figures. Trees, plants, and animals lend themselves to carry out the devotional, allegorical, and fantastic designs that fill the wide margins of this royal Prayer-book for forty-five pages.

The first page, with a prayer for the continuance of Divine protection, is ornamented with running rose branches entwined into arabesques, in which animals sport, while a piper plays his flageolet.

Among the most beautiful of these drawings is the prayer to St. Barbara, in which she stands with a chalice in her hand on a flower-like arabesque. In the prayer to St. Sebastian we have a finely drawn figure of the saint bound to a tree and transfixed with arrows. In the prayer to St. George we see a knight in finely chased armour, who grasps the dragon he has slain by the neck. A prayer for the dying is illustrated by a figure of Death, hour-glass in hand, who approaches a knight

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in magnificent armour, who vainly endeavours to draw his sword against his ghastly enemy. Over their heads a hawk strikes down a heron. The verses of the 129th Psalm are adorned with a drawing of King David kneeling and playing on the harp. The first chapter of St. John has a beautiful drawing of the Virgin and Child. At the foot of the page we see the Evangelist, with his writing implements around him, gazing up at the shining vision. An invocation to the Trinity is depicted by Dürer's favourite conception of this subject: God the Father supports Christ on the cross on his knee, the Holy Dove hovers above. Dürer illustrates the sentence "Lead us not into temptation" by a man who stands near a briar-hedge listening longingly to the song of a beautiful bird perched on a high branch, as well as with a droll little sketch of a fox, who entices the hens towards him by playing on a lute. A prayer to the Virgin is illustrated by a beautiful drawing of the angel of the Annunciation appearing to Mary. The words "the earth and all they that dwell therein" have suggested the figure of an Indian brave in feathers and paint. The first verse of the 108th Psalm, "O sing unto the Lord a new song," is the excuse for a delightful little

drawing representing the city musicians playing at a fête in the meadows outside the city walls. One of the quaintest of the illustrations represents the follies of the world in the guise of a market woman, who, laden with her wares, stands on a basket of eggs, while a goose perched on her head flaps its wings and cackles. Birds and beasts contribute to the variety of these beautiful and flowing designs, to the delicate arabesques so surely traced by Dürer's clever hand. On the margin of the page containing the *Te Deum* there is a beautiful head of Christ on a Sudarium, then a beautiful figure of the Child Christ, riding on an ass, with his hand uplifted to bless, a little angel spreads his garment before him; on the side margin is a fine figure of St. Augustine with his hands raised in benediction. The Hymn to the Virgin is the centre of a most charming drawing of the Virgin, who stands in an attitude of prayer, while a dainty little angel with his foot resting on a snail sings the hymn to his lute. The Prayer-book ends with the *Jubilate*, "O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands: serve the Lord with gladness." Here we see peasants dancing to the pipes.

The Latin text of the Prayer-book is thought

"Imperator, Cæsar Divus Maximilianus Pius Felix Augustus." In the second woodcut the bust of the Kaiser is surrounded by an ornamental drawing. Two columns support griffins, who hold the Imperial escutcheon, enclosed within the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. This second woodcut was not published till after the Kaiser's death, and bears the following dedication at the foot of the woodcut besides the Latin inscription: "The dear Prince and Emperor Maximilian blessedly departed this life in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Anno domini 1519." The large oil-painting of the Kaiser in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna, was painted from the same sketch. Here the Kaiser is attired in a flat black velvet cap and crimson cloak trimmed with sables. In his hand he holds a pomegranate, his chosen emblem of plenty. On the green background is painted the Imperial coat-of-arms and a long Latin inscription. The Germanisches Museum possesses another portrait done in water-colours on canvas, but it is much faded. The Kaiser wears the collar of the Golden Fleece, his mantle is bordered with white fur.

While in Augsburg Dürer made the charcoal sketch for the portrait of Cardinal Albrecht

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of Brandenburg, Primate and Elector of the Empire, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, from which, a year later, he engraved his celebrated plate. This plate is usually known as the "Little Cardinal"; it ranks amongst the finest of Dürer's engravings on copper. The charcoal sketch now in the Albertina is dated 1518, and has the inscription: "Der Erzbischof zu Mainz 1518" in Dürer's handwriting.

Dürer mentions the completion of the engraving in 1519, when he writes to Spalatin: "I send to my most gracious Lord three prints of the engraving I have executed for His Highness of Mainz by his instruction. To His Electoral Grace I have had the honour to send the plate and two hundred impressions for which His Grace has shown me great kindness, having sent me two hundred florins in gold and twenty ells of damask for a coat."

Dürer met many notable men during his residence at the Court in Augsburg. He received several commissions from Cardinal Mathaeus Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, who was at that time Kaiser Maximilian's private secretary. The British Museum has some pen-and-ink drawings which bear Cardinal Lang's coat-of-arms.

Dürer remained several months in Augsburg, spending pleasant days drawing and painting for the Kaiser, his new patrons, and friends. The pretty anecdote related by Melanchthon no doubt occurred at this time. The Kaiser wished to sketch out a design for Dürer, but was discomfited by the piece of charcoal repeatedly snapping off in his hand, when Dürer took it and rapidly completed the sketch. Maximilian wished to know why the charcoal did not break in his hand. "Most gracious Majesty," said Dürer, "I would not wish that your Majesty should draw as easily as I do; this is my domain, I have practised the art. The Kaiser has more difficult tasks to fulfil in a wider calling."

A delightful letter still exists, dated 3rd November, 1518, addressed to Dürer and his Nürnberg colleagues Nützel and Spengler, from Charitas, Wilibald Pirkheimer's learned sister, Abbess of the Grey Nuns at Nürnberg. This sprightly epistle is evidently an answer to a recent letter from Dürer, or one of his friends; it carries us back to the gay atmosphere of the chaffing letters of the Venetian days of 1505-1507.

She writes:—

"To the provident, wise gentlemen, Caspar

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Nützel, Lazarus Spengler, and Albrecht Dürer, now in Augsburg, our dear friends and kind masters—Jesus.

“All good from the Giver of all Good I wish you as a friendly greeting, my provident, wise, kind gentlemen and my especially good friends, cousins, and patrons! Your friendly letter, with the news that suit my position or perhaps my community, I received with great merriment and read with so strict attention, that my eyes overflowed once or twice during the perusal—but from laughter, not emotion! I consider myself much honoured, that your Wisdoms, occupied with so many festivities and affairs, should not forget me, but should find time to diligently instruct me, a poor little nun, about the cloistered life you have at present around you. I gather from all this that a good spirit undoubtedly led my kind and well-wishing friends to Augsburg, so that they may gather information from the free Suabian minds, as to how they should govern us poor, captive, little sand-hares. Herr Albrecht Dürer our most talented drawing-master and genius must take the opportunity and study the fine buildings so that he may be able to give us help and advice when in future days we rebuild our

chancel, that he may make us large windows so that our eyes may not entirely lose their power of sight.

“I will not trouble you to bring us the score from which we could learn to sing ‘in figuris,’ as our beer is at present so sour, the yeast would I fear stick in the four windpipes, and so cause such dreadful discord that even the dogs would fly from the church. I would further humbly beg of you not to strain your eyes too much after the black and white magpies, or you will not be able to look at the little grey wolves at Nürnberg. I have heard all my life about the witty Suabians, I have now a still higher opinion of them. . . .

“Pardon me, my dear kind gentlemen, for my joking letter. But it is all in ‘caritate’ [a play on her name, Charitas] . . . ‘summa summarum,’ the end of it all is that I wish to see you return soon, well and happy, and with all your commissions accomplished, for which I and my sisters heartily pray God night and morning. But we alone are not able to accomplish this, therefore I counsel you to beg the other pious and pure souls to sing, even in octaves, so that the affair succeeds.

“May happy times go with this writing.
Given at Nürnberg on 3rd September, 1518.—

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Sister Charitas, unworthy Abbess of St. Clara, Nürnberg."

Dürer returned soon after to Nürnberg, where he no doubt shortly was at work completing the Kaiser's portraits.

The only other oil-painting of Dürer's dated 1518 is the "Lucretia," a life-size nude figure, now in the Pinakothek, Munich. This picture, one of the few nudes Dürer painted, has on the whole little charm. It is evidently carefully studied from the life, but the pose is stiff, the colour hard and dry; we miss the grace and delicate handling of the "Eve" of ten years earlier. The drawings for this picture are in the Albertina, and were done as early as 1508.

In January, 1519, came the sudden death of Kaiser Maximilian, causing great grief to the artist, who writes: "My dear master, who died so much too soon for me. . . . Oh that God Almighty would bring him back among the number of the living!" The portraits of "The Last of the Knights" were probably very much a labour of love to Dürer, while the Kaiser's strong features and sympathetic expression made a fine subject for a portrait-painter's hand.

A beautiful small engraving, "St. Antoninus,"

is dated 1519. The monk is seated on the ground poring over his breviary, his staff with a crucifix and little bell attached to it is stuck into the ground ; the background seems to be a study of Nürnberg Castle, towers and walls. Another plate of this date is "Peasants going to Market." The man and wife offer eggs and chicken for sale. They are evidently faithful types of the Franconian peasantry. A circular engraving, or medallion, known as the "Sword-hilt," is the smallest engraving Dürer ever executed. This minute piece of work, not quite an inch and a half in diameter, was done with the burin on a sheet of pure gold. It formed an ornament for the hilt of a state sword presented by the city of Nürnberg to Kaiser Maximilian. Dürer took a few impressions of this little engraving, which represents "Christ on the Cross" between the Virgin and St. John. The little gold plaque has long disappeared from the sword, which is at Vienna ; but it has been replaced by a silver replica. The original plaque was probably executed about 1518.

A large pen-and-ink drawing of a rhinoceros, now in the British Museum, dated 1515, shows how much interest Dürer took in any unusual or foreign object. This drawing has a long

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inscription on it in Dürer's handwriting, which states that the animal, the first of the race seen in Western Europe, had been sent to the King of Portugal as a present from India; that he had made this drawing from a slight sketch and descriptions sent to him from a friend in Lisbon. In the same collection are drawings for silver table ornaments and richly engraved spoon handles, also dated 1515.

To this same period, when Dürer's paintings were inclined to be hard and dry, may be assigned "The Virgin with the Nude Child," dated 1518, now in the Berlin Museum. The Child, seated on the Virgin's lap, holds an apple or a pear between his hands. The Virgin has long wavy hair, the square-cut dress is ornamented with a band of embroidery. In composition and feeling this picture has much affinity with "The Virgin with the Apple," in the Uffizi, Florence, of 1526. In both pictures we have simple representations of Mother and Child, without any attributes of divinity; neither halo nor crown are indicated. These pictures seem to denote Dürer's attitude towards the Church during the closing years of his life, when the Reformation doctrines were influencing sacred art. This picture, "The Virgin and Nude Child," has been much injured by cleaning and restoring.

CHAPTER VIII

THE JOURNEY TO THE NETHERLANDS, 1520-1521

Dürer's pension—The Archduchess Margaret—Kaiser Karl V.—Dürer's Journal—Journey to Antwerp—Life in Antwerp—Fêtes and processions—Dürer's petition to Kaiser Karl—Flemish art and painters—State entry of Kaiser Karl into Antwerp—Presents of paintings and engravings to patrons—Dürer in Aix-la-Chapelle—Ratification of his pension at Cologne—Carnival fêtes in Antwerp—Return to Nürnberg in 1521.

BEFORE Dürer left Augsburg, Kaiser Maximilian had promised that the Rath of Nürnberg should pay him 200 florins out of the city taxes which were due to the Kaiser on St. Martin's Day. Dürer was provided with an order with the Imperial seal "to be paid to him as if to Maximilian himself out of the town taxes." The Kaiser's sudden death unfortunately furnished the "Elteren Herrn" with an excuse to refuse payment, alleging that they could not pay the late Kaiser's debts unless they were ratified by his successor.

This failure to obtain the money made

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Dürer anxious about the validity of his pension. He resolved to make a journey to the Netherlands to be presented to the Archduchess Margaret, Kaiser Maximilian's daughter and "Stadthalterin of the Netherlands," from whom he hoped to obtain the favour of an introduction to the new Kaiser, Karl V., who was about to make his Coronation Progress through the Flemish cities, and be able personally to advance his claim with the young Kaiser. This journey would also give him the chance of seeing the rich art treasures of the cities of the Netherlands and enlarge his circle of friends or possible patrons. Added to all these reasons was the necessity of escaping for a time from Nürnberg, where the plague was raging, causing everyone who could possibly do so to leave the city for a time.

Dürer kept a Journal of this year's travel with his wife and her maid Susanna, wherein he carefully notes all the items of their journey, the route of travel, their expenses, the towns they passed through, and the people of consequence they came in contact with. These entries are generally concise and business-like items, but occasionally we find descriptions of places and festivals, with accounts of the hospitality shown to them.

The first entry in the Journal states that "I, Albrecht Dürer, started with my wife on my own account and at my own expense to go to the Netherlands on Thursday, July 12th, 1520." This statement seems to infer that he was well pleased to find himself in a position to travel on his own account in comfort, without needing to apply to his friend Pirkheimer for the necessary funds, as had been the case when he started for Venice. Dürer left Nürnberg well provided with pictures, engravings, and woodcuts, to be either sold or exchanged by the way, or to form presents to friends and patrons who entertained the travellers during their travels. Arrived at Bamberg, he visited the bishop and presented him with a painting of the Virgin, *The Life of the Virgin*, and engravings to the value of a gulden. The bishop in return invited him to his palace, paid his expenses at the inn, and furnished him with a "Zollbrief," or free pass, to take him through the many custom-house duties on the Rhine, also providing him with various letters of introduction. Dürer frequently alludes to the service this "Zollbrief" does him. At Schweinfurth he is met and entertained by a friend, Dr. Georg Rebart, who sends him a present of wine. The party arrived safely at

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Frankfort-on-Main July 20th, when Dürer visits Jacob Heller, the friend for whom he painted his "Assumption of the Virgin." He does not mention the picture, but says "Heller sent them wine for their use at the inn." Continuing their journey on Sunday, July 22nd, they arrive at Mayence, where they again receive hospitable welcome from friends. The next stage of their journey is by Rhine-boat to Cologne. Here they are among friends and relations, and stay with Dürer's cousin, the goldsmith Niklas. The great Augsburg merchant Hieronymus Fugger pays many attentions to Dürer, while the monks of the Barfüsser Convent offer them a collation. Dürer's fame has preceded him, all along his route people are eager to have the honour of entertaining his party. Antwerp, the goal of their journey, was reached August 3rd, when Dürer settled his party in an inn kept by Jobst Plankfelt, a man of some importance in the town. This inn became their headquarters all the time they were in Antwerp. An amusing entry in the Journal tells us that Frau Agnes and the maid cooked and ate their meals in their own room, while Dürer took his with mine host. Barely settled in their quarters, they received an invitation to supper

the first night from Fugger's factor, which Dürer accepted, but Frau Agnes remained at the inn.

The following morning Dürer commenced sightseeing by visiting the Bürgermeister's house, with which he is much impressed—"an immense house, with a fine tower and beautiful garden, in fact a handsomer house than any I have seen in German lands." On the following Sunday, August 5th, the Antwerp artists invited Dürer, his wife, and maid to a banquet given in his honour at their Guild-hall, at which all their wives were present. Dürer notes the silver plate and the costly viands, and mentions that "they all rose as I was conducted to my seat, as if I had been a great lord; and amongst them were many people of rank and importance who wished to be agreeable to me in every way. We were merry together till late at night, when they conducted us home with torches."

Dürer visited Quentin Matsys in his studio, but has unfortunately only just mentioned the fact without making any comment on the Antwerp master's pictures or personality. He visited the temporary studios at the arsenal, where the artists of the city were busy preparing decorations for the triumphal arches

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that were to decorate the streets on the occasion of Karl V.'s state entry into the city. He tells us of the numerous dinners he attended, of the kind welcome his letters of introduction, his charming personality, and increasing fame procured him, of his delight in seeing the great churches and the fine houses of the merchant princes. He notes at intervals the number and titles of the woodcuts and engravings he presents to his friends in return for their hospitality, and catalogues many rare and costly articles that are presented to him and to Frau Agnes.

Dürer's pencil was not idle during this delightful visit. He drew the portraits of his friends and patrons, either as commissions or for presents to be offered to them. The learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, who lived in Antwerp, sat to him several times, and at his house he met Henry VIII.'s Court astronomer, Nicolaus Kratzer, with whom he had much intercourse and drew his portrait. This Kratzer was a native of Munich. The Portuguese consul, Brandan, and a Genoese merchant called Tomaso Bombelli, were his chief friends and patrons. He drew portraits of Bombelli, of his two brothers, and of his daughter Zutta.

Dürer witnessed the great procession of Our Lady on the Sunday after the Feast of the Assumption, August 19th, which much delighted him by its magnificent pageants, its varied groups of all classes of the people—merchants, soldiers, priests, students, and craftsmen, with twenty people carrying the statue of Our Lady. He particularly praises the group representing St. Margaret leading a dragon with her girdle ; “she was especially pretty.” We presume he means the lady, not the group. He adds : “The procession took two hours from start to finish in passing the house, and was so full of things that I could not write it all down in a whole book, so I will just leave it alone.”

Soon after this Dürer left Antwerp for a short time, travelling with his friend Tomaso Bombelli *viâ* Mechlin to Brussels, where he hoped to attain the chief object of his journey at the time of the Kaiser’s state entry into the city. At Mechlin he met Meister Konradt, the Archduchess Margaret’s Court sculptor, and invited him to dinner, and he returned the compliment on Dürer’s arrival in Brussels. In Mechlin Dürer met his townsmen the Coronation deputies from Nürnberg, worthy gentlemen of the Rath—their Worships

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Hans Ebner, Leonhard Groland, and Niklas Haller — who were escorting the Imperial Regalia to Aix-la-Chapelle for the Coronation ceremonies. These gentlemen welcomed their distinguished townsman and treated him as their guest. On reaching Brussels Dürer hastened to present the Bishop of Bamberg's letter of introduction to the Markgraf Johann, while another influential friend, Herr Jakob de Bannises, the late Kaiser's private secretary, placed his secretary at his disposal, and he assisted him to draw up the petition he wished to present to Kaiser Karl. This good friend invited him to stay with him, and gave him every help possible. Dürer notes that he presented a copy of *The Copper Passion* to him as some return for his kindness.

The Archduchess sent a gracious message to Dürer and summoned him to her presence, giving him a promise to be his advocate with the Kaiser. She showed Dürer her pictures. He mentions several highly finished oil-paintings, the work of her Court painter Bernhard van Orley, the same artist of whom Dürer says "he invited me, and treated me to such a costly dinner, that I am sure must have cost more than ten gulden." A black chalk drawing of Bernhard van Orley, dated

1521, is in the Print Room of the British Museum. The artist has a handsome, smiling face, his curly hair is surmounted with a large felt hat, he wears a fur-lined cloak opening at the throat over a linen vest. Dürer writes in his Journal before leaving Brussels: "I saw many beautiful things in Brussels, the pictures of the Master Roger (Van der Weyden); the King's palace with the gardens at the back full of fountains, labyrinths, and strange foreign animals delighted me, never did I see anything so bright and charming; to me it seemed like Paradise." The town-hall is also much admired, but "the things the King has had brought him from the Gold-land (Mexico) most delight me; a huge golden sun, a silver moon, their armour and weapons and all kinds of wonderful things for man's use. Never in all my days have I seen things that so delighted me, both wonderful and artistic things, I was astonished at the subtle ingenuity of these men of strange lands."

Dürer returned to his old quarters at Plankfelt's inn at Antwerp on the third day of September, when he notes down in his book all the items of his wife's expenditure during his absence. Antwerp was now full of grandees arriving for the festivities, of artists and

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deputies anxious to be present at the state entry of Karl V. Dürer bought a "printed book of the State Entry," showing how the Kaiser was received with costly decorations, pageants, and rejoicings; the gates of the city were decorated with allegorical groups, in which figured young girls "of a beauty I have rarely seen." These tableaux made a great impression on Dürer, who described them later on to Melanchthon as "the most beautiful groups of girls very lightly draped; the young Kaiser hardly had a glance for them, but I, as an artist, looked about me with less modesty."

A beautiful coat-of-arms was drawn by Dürer about this time for the brothers von Roggendorf, who had been attached to Maximilian's Court, and were then at Antwerp. This is one of the largest and most beautiful of his heraldic drawings. A fine impression from this block is preserved at the Germanic Museum. He was presented with seven ells of velvet, and had the honour of dining with the von Roggendorfs.

Dürer heard in Antwerp that Rafael's Painting School had been entirely dissolved at his death, from one of his pupils, Thomaso Vincetore of Bologna, who had been sent by Pope

Leo X. to the Netherlands. He sought Dürer out and presented him with "an antique gold ring with a well-cut stone, worth quite five gulden, I have already been offered double for it; but in return I have presented him with at least six gulden worth of my best prints." "To the Lady Margaret I have presented a full set of all my works and have also drawn two different sketches for her on parchment; these must be worth at least 30 gulden."

In order to press his suit with the Kaiser, Dürer followed him on his Coronation tour, and travelling *viâ* Maestrecht arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle on October the 4th. Here he again met his friends the Nürnberg Coronation envoys, remaining under their hospitable wing during the Coronation festivities, at which he was present, noting that "they were more magnificent than man can have seen before. He studied the noble minster church built by Karl der Grosse, and admired "the well-proportioned columns of red porphyry" that were brought from Rome. Several drawings preserved in his sketch-book were done here; one at the British Museum is a study of a mastiff, on which is written "Zu ach gemacht" (done at Aachen), on the reverse of this leaf are sketches of women in Flemish costume.

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Dürer still waited for the ratification of his papers by the Imperial hand, so "My Lords" of Nürnberg took him in their train to Cologne, where after much labour and trouble on their part his "Confirmatio" was granted to him on November the 12th, 1520. This "Confirmatio" is still preserved among the archives of Nürnberg. Here at Cologne Dürer once more came in for Coronation rejoicings; he attended the festivities and "saw the young Kaiser dancing." He admired the cathedral, and pays "two white pfenning for the opening of the panel which Meister Steffan of Cöln had done. . . . I have given a 'Melancholia' to a young count of Cöln, and a new 'Virgin' to Duke Friederich."

The main object of Dürer's journey was now accomplished, he was able to set out again for Antwerp on November 14th, proceeding down the Rhine by easy stages, till he found himself once more in that pleasant city after a seven weeks' absence. He was barely settled at the inn with his wife when the news that a large whale had been washed ashore in Zeeland started him off again to see this natural wonder. On his way to "Zierik See" to inspect the great whale he was nearly shipwrecked at Armuyden, on the island of Walcheren, and when he

arrived at his destination it was only to find that the whale had been washed out to sea. This winter expedition unfortunately laid Dürer up with a serious illness, a fever of a malarial nature, for he mentions frequent recurring attacks, and never quite recovered from its wearing effects. On his way back he notes "that Middleburg is a beautiful town to sketch in, while Zeeland is pretty and marvellous at the same time, for here the water is higher than the land."

Dürer remained several months longer in Antwerp working diligently, but at the same time entering freely into the social life of the place. February brought the Carnival fêtes; on the tenth instant "the goldsmiths invited me and my wife to dinner"; in the evening they were the guests of the Bürgermeister at a masquerade. During this time Dürer made innumerable sketches for his friends, occasionally painting a small oil picture. A pencil drawing on tinted paper of an old man he did at this time is now at the Albertina, Vienna. This has an inscription on it stating that the man was ninety-three years of age, still hale and hearty at Antwerp. This finely modelled head is in Dürer's best manner. Another drawing done in Antwerp, and dated 1521, is the study

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of a negress, now at the Uffizi. It has the monogram and, in Dürer's writing, "1521. Katharina, allt. 20 Jor." (1521. Katharina, aged 20.)

In the Print Room of the British Museum there are several sketches dated 1521. A chalk drawing of a lady in Flemish costume on tinted paper has the monogram but is very rubbed. Another interesting sketch in water-colours is the head and shoulders of a walrus. This drawing was formerly in an album containing miscellaneous natural history drawings in the Sloane Collection, but has now been added to the Dürer drawings in the Print Room. It has an inscription in Dürer's writing: "Das dosig thyr von dem ich do das haupt conterfett hab, ist gefange worden zu den Niederländischen Zee, und XII. ellen lang brauwendisch, mit fir füssen." (This "lubberly" beast, from which I drew the head, was caught in the Netherland sea, and was twelve ells long, Burgundian measure, with four feet.) The winter in Antwerp is both pleasant and profitable. Dürer made many new friends and joined in the social life of the city, he also sold many woodcuts and disposed of prints for his Nürnberg friends Hans Schäufelein and Hans Baldung Grien. There is also a drawing in

silver-point of Frau Agnes in Flemish costume dated 1521. "This was taken by Albrecht Dürer from his wife at Antwerp after they had been married twenty-seven years." As the spring approached he began to make preparations for his return to Nürnberg, packing and sending off several bales of goods containing the curios and treasures he had collected to the care of Hans Imhoff of Nürnberg. Presents are bought for friends at home, pieces of lace and gloves for the wives of his friends, "a large cap and other presents for Pirkheimer, an exceedingly large horn for Hieronymus Andrea," and many other articles. This business accomplished he starts with an artist friend, Jan Proost, for a hasty visit to the cities of Bruges and Ghent, where he receives a hearty welcome from the artists.

Proost entertained him at his own house in Bruges, and "he was the guest of the goldsmiths of the city who took him to see the chapel painted by Roger (Van der Weyden) and pictures by a great master." Dürer mentions splendid pictures by Roger and Hugo van der Goes, "who were both great masters." He saw Michael Angelo's alabaster Madonna, also the Painter's Chapel, "in which there are fine things." Van Eyck and Memling's pictures

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are not mentioned in the Journal. Before leaving "the painters offered me a dinner in their Guildhall, where many honourable personages were assembled as well as goldsmiths, merchants, and artists; they gave me presents and treated me with great honour and all the assembly escorted me home with torches."

Ghent is reached on April the 9th, and here again the artists received him with great distinction and entertained him handsomely. The diary tells us that "early on Wednesday morning April 10th they took me up St. John's Tower, from whence I could look over the great and wonderful city where I was at once received as a great artist." The "Johannes Tafel," the celebrated altar-piece of the brothers Van Eyck, excited his warmest admiration. "It is a glorious and finely conceived painting." This pleasant interlude over, Dürer returns to Antwerp on April the 11th.

Among Dürer's numerous artist friends at Antwerp it is interesting to note that he mentions Joachim de Patenier as "the good landscape painter," an unusual branch of art in those days; he also mentions doing his portrait in silver-point. Another artist friend was "Meister Gerhard the Illuminator, whose daughter Susanna is also an artist; she is

eighteen years old and has illuminated 'A Saviour,' for which I gave one gulden ; it is a great marvel that a woman could do so well."

Before leaving Antwerp Dürer had the pleasure of meeting Lucas van Leyden, the celebrated Dutch engraver, in whose work he is naturally much interested. The Meister invited him to dinner ; "he is a little man, a native of Leyden in Holland." Dürer bought a set of his rival's engravings, or rather, exchanged prints to the value of eight gulden. We may perhaps trace a slight note of satisfaction in the entry "a little man" that his rival in that respect could not equal his own stately proportions.

The feast of Corpus Christi was the occasion of another fine procession in Antwerp. Eight days later he went off once more to Mechlin, laden with prints, to have a farewell audience of the Archduchess Margaret and to present her with a portrait he had done of the Kaiser. The noble lady was so little pleased with it that he did not venture to give it to her. She showed him some pictures by Jan van Eyck and "Jacob Walch," but dismissed him without any further mark of attention. He returned to Antwerp in a somewhat dejected frame of mind, confiding to his Journal that on the

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whole he had paid out more money than he had gained in his transactions with people, and above all the Lady Margaret gave me nothing in return for all the presents I made her."

This disappointment was shortly made up to him by receiving a command from Christian II., King of Denmark, to paint his portrait. This he did at Brussels on panel, and received for it the sum of thirty florins. The King was a fine handsome man much admired by the people of Antwerp, where he had come to assist at the Coronation fêtes of his brother-in-law, Kaiser Karl V.

On Friday, July 12th, Dürer, Frau Agnes, and the maid Susanna started on their homeward journey, travelling *viâ* Maestricht to Aix-la-Chapelle, then through Jülich to Cologne. Here the Journal ends. Dürer's wanderings have been recorded, the honours and hospitality he received, the pleasant experience of finding himself a great man among strange people have all been noted down. The little book has faithfully reproduced thumb-nail sketches of his gay life in Antwerp, with numerous interesting details of the circle of friends who made so much of him during this brilliant year of his life in the rich cities of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER IX

LIFE IN NÜRNBERG FROM 1521-1528

Dürer's designs for the decoration of the *Raths-Haus*—Portrait of Hans Imhoff—Engraved portrait of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg—Portrait of Ulrich Varnbüler, engraved on wood—Engraved portrait of the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise—Engraved portrait of Wilibald Pirkheimer—Engraved portrait of Philip Melanchthon—Engraved portrait of Erasmus—"The Four Apostles"—"The Virgin with the Apple"—Portrait of Johannes Kleeberger—Portrait of Jakob Muffel—Portrait of Hieronymus Holzschuher—Dürer and the Reformation—Portrait of Eobanus Hesse, wood-engraving—Drawings of book-plates and coats-of-arms—Dürer's literary work and studies—Dürer's last years—His death at Nürnberg in 1528.

IN the summer of 1521 we find Dürer once more established in his own studio and honoured by a commission from the "*Elteren Herrn*" to supply the designs for the proposed mural decoration of the interior of the old Gothic Town Hall. The Town Hall entered largely into the life of the burghers, being used for the Assembly of the Diet, for the Courts of Justice, as well as for town festivals.

The hall was divided into three principal wall spaces by doors and windows; these Dürer proceeded to decorate with allegorical subjects representing the different subjects for which the hall was required.

The principal wall space was devoted to the state. Here was figured Kaiser Maximilian's triumphal car. This design corresponded to the woodcut of the same subject which Dürer drew for Kaiser Maximilian in 1518; it represents Kaiser Maximilian seated on the car surrounded by the allegorical figures of the Virtues which Pirkheimer had suggested as the complement to the first design. The second large design was an allegorical representation of Calumny, which was to impress on the judges the necessity of caution in accepting evidence while administering justice. In this oblong composition the judge is seated to the right, on either side of him stand female figures, Suspicion and Ignorance, who are whispering into his ass-shaped ears. Calumny, a finely drawn female, drags forward an innocent young man by the hair of his head. Groups follow representing Envy, Deceit, Fraud, Error and Haste, Chastisement and Penitence. On the extreme left Truth advances, a majestic female figure in rich attire, bearing

in her right hand a sceptre, in her left a radiant sun on a vase. The third space is devoted to Festivity; the picture is known as the "Pfeiferstuhl" or musicians' gallery. The composition consists of seven musicians who have the city arms emblazoned on their attire; they are placed in a richly decorated gallery and discourse sweet music, other figures listening to them complete the group.

Dürer only drew the designs for these wall paintings, they are thought to have been carried out by an artist called Georg Penz. The original pen-and-ink sketch of the third composition is in the Albertina Collection at Vienna. The frescoes generally are in a very bad state of preservation, and but little idea can be formed of their original colour. The Town Council sent Dürer a hundred florins for his designs.

A fine series of portraits fills the registry of Dürer's work of the next few years. One of these portraits, dated 1521, representing an elderly man with clean-shaven face and strongly marked features is now at the Prado Museum, Madrid. This is thought to be the portrait of Hans Imhoff the elder, a patrician of Nürnberg, and the man whom Dürer mentions in his Journal shortly before his return home,

and to whose care he forwarded his bales of goods. This portrait is one of Dürer's finest works, strongly drawn and modelled, and painted with a rich and free technique.

The Imperial Diet was held at Nürnberg in 1522-1523, which probably gave Dürer the opportunity of making a drawing for his second engraved portrait of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, Primate and Elector of the Reich; it was finished in 1523. This print is usually known as "The Great Cardinal," to distinguish it from the equally celebrated plate called "The Little Cardinal" that Dürer executed in 1519-1520. "The Great Cardinal" shows us the head in profile with a biretta on his head; in the top corner is his coat-of-arms surmounted by a cardinal's hat. At the foot of the plate is a tablet with a Latin inscription: "Albrecht, through God's mercy Cardinal-priest of the Holy Roman Church, with the title of St. Chrysogonus, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Elector and Primate of the Empire, Administrator of Halberstadt, Markgraf of Brandenburg"; and again at the top of the plate the following quaint inscription: "1523. Thus he appeared, these are his eyes, his lips, and cheeks. In his 34th year."

The portrait of Ulrich Varnbüler, Pro-notary of the Supreme Court of the Empire, dated 1522, is the largest that Dürer drew on wood. This man was one of his intimate friends; the inscription on the plate states that Dürer wished to do honour to one whom he particularly loved, and hoped by his work to transmit his features to posterity. The original drawing of this woodcut done in coloured chalks is in the Albertina Collection at Vienna.

This was followed in 1524 by a portrait of his former patron, the Elector of Saxony, Friederich the Wise, engraved on copper. This plate shows us a corpulent personage with a full beard, cloth cap, and furred mantle, opening over a linen vest. At the top corner of the plate is the Elector's coat-of-arms, at the foot a tablet with a Latin dedication which, being translated, reads: "Sacred to Christ. This man promoted God's Word with the greatest devotion. Therefore is he worthy of eternal fame. Done for Friederich, Duke of Saxony, Grand-Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, by Albrecht Dürer (then these letters, "B. M. F. V. V.", meaning unknown), 1524."

To this fine group of engravings may be added the portrait of Wilibald Pirkheimer, the

philosopher of Nürnberg. This celebrated engraving gives a vivid representation of the man; one cannot doubt its being a speaking likeness. The heavy solid head and thick hair, fine eyes and broad forehead, point to the thinker and humanist; the large nose indicates the man of action, while the mouth and heavy chin and bulldog throat recall the man that we seem to know from Dürer's letters, fond of all pleasures and not disdaining the broadest of jokes. On a tablet at the foot of the print is a Latin dedication: "Wilibald Pirckheimer's portrait, in the 53d year of his life. Man lives by his spirit, the remainder belongs to death." The plate was engraved in 1524, and has the Dürer monogram.

Two more interesting portraits, the last Dürer engraved on copper, are dated 1526. Both represent remarkable men, namely Philip Melanchthon the Reformer, and Erasmus of Rotterdam, the Humanist. The portrait of Melanchthon was probably executed during his third visit to Nürnberg in 1526, and is the best existing portrait of the gentle preacher, Luther's great contemporary. The head is shown almost in profile, the hair is short and brushed back from the high forehead. The refined intellectual face, slightly aquiline nose

and well-set eyes give a sympathetic impression of the man whom Luther described as "going about everything so gently and silently, building up and planting, sowing and watering with joy." Dürer and Melanchthon were fast friends and in many ways kindred spirits; Melanchthon calls Dürer "a wise man whose genius as a painter, were it ever so brilliant, would be the least of his gifts."

The Latin inscription on the tablet at the foot of this plate states: "True to life can Dürer copy Philip's features, to paint his intellect was not possible even to his practised hand."

The portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam was executed from charcoal sketches made while Dürer was at Brussels in 1520. It is a very highly finished plate with much fine work in the accessories. The scholar is represented half-length, writing at his desk, a vase with lilies of the valley in front of him, large folios with heavy clasps lie on the table at his side.

The year 1526 shows a remarkable and varied register of work. Dürer has once more devoted himself to painting in oils. Three fine portraits and the celebrated panels of "The Four Apostles," the latter the last great production from his hand, are completed in

this year, as well as a Virgin and Child, "The Virgin with the Apple," now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

One of these pictures, the portrait of Johannes Kleeberger, the second husband of Wilibald Pirkheimer's favourite daughter, Felicitas, is in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna. This portrait is painted to imitate an antique Roman bust. The head is painted in strong relief against a background of green marble. Round this medallion runs an inscription which has again a grey border to complete the square with a small coat-of-arms in either lower corner. This picture has evidently been repainted, and is hard and unpleasing, the imitation of a portrait bust does not compose a pleasant picture.

Two other portraits of Dürer's friends, Herrn Jakob Muffel and Herrn Hieronymus Holzschuher, both members of the Town Council of Nürnberg, are much admired treasures of the Berlin Museum. Both pictures are characteristic specimens of Dürer's portrait work, while the "Hieronymus Holzschuher" may rank as one of his most important portraits. The fine head framed in silver beard and hair stands out from a sable-trimmed cloak and greenish-grey background. Few

people who have stood before this portrait can have failed to be impressed by the striking lifelike presentment of the old man, the marvellous fire and light in the sparkling, imperious eyes, while the hair and beard are finished with a delicacy peculiar to Dürer.

The portrait of Jakob Muffel shows a refined, spare, clean-shaven face, to which the turned-over white collar, furred cloak, and small cap form an agreeable setting. It is a fine portrait, though not so striking as the virile Holzschuher head. Dürer has left us three magnificent portraits that might be considered as types of youth, maturity, and old age, in the portraits of "Oswald Krell," dated 1499, in the Royal Pinakothek, Munich, his own portrait of 1500 hanging in the same gallery, and the Hieronymus Holzschuher of the Berlin Museum.

The last important work of a great master must always be intensely interesting to those who have studied his artistic career, who have followed the different phases of his creative power, the expression of his manner of thought, or the development of his technical powers. The subject of the Apostles had at various times engrossed Dürer's thoughts and pencil. He had already engraved on

copper five heads of the Apostles, while in one or two of his large pictures the Apostle groups are especially fine, as seen in the Heller altar-piece and "The Assumption of the Virgin."

These fine panels of the Apostles were the object of many studies and incessant work, as we gather from Dürer's own letter to the Rath of Nürnberg, in which he states to his "dear Lords, that although I have long wished to present to your Wisdoms a modest painting as a remembrance, I have been compelled to give it up on considering the defects of my poor works, as I knew I could not worthily represent myself with them before your Wisdoms. Since then I have lately painted some panels on which I have lavished more diligence than on any of my previous pictures, therefore I esteem nobody worthier to keep them as a remembrance than your Wisdoms. I therefore present the same to your Wisdoms, humbly and insistently begging you graciously to accept my little present." We find from letters that passed between Dürer and the "Elteren Herrn" that "the Council were grateful to him for his work, and would keep it as a remembrance, but were nevertheless anxious to pay him its worth."

The sum of 100 guldens was eventually sent to Dürer as a return present, as he refused to name any price. These two panels represent respectively St. John and St. Peter, St. Mark and St. Paul. The fine figures fill the narrow panels with a simple grandeur ; the elaborate and sometimes overpowering wealth of detail in Dürer's early work has been thrown aside, he has achieved the simplicity of line which marks the greatest attainment of composition. The heads of the Apostles are noble and strong types, the drapery flows in statuesque folds round the fine figures.

These panels were considered at one time to represent the four temperaments, a favourite theory of the day. It seems, however, that the rather fanciful deduction of the intention of the figures is hardly necessary, as Dürer placed inscriptions under each picture which clearly explain his own view on the matter.

Dürer remained all his life one of Luther's staunchest supporters in Nürnberg, even through the trying times that followed after the first great wave of Protestantism had somewhat spent itself. The Reformed party was divided among itself, and grave scandals arose from the licence and excesses of which some of the exponents of the new faith were

guilty. This reaction caused many of Dürer's friends to waver in their adherence to Luther. Wilibald Pirkheimer writes: "Like Dürer, I was at first a good Lutheran. We hoped that all matters would be better than in the days of the Roman Church ; but the Lutherans are worse. The former were hypocrites, the latter openly live unseemly lives. Luther with his bold, hasty tongue has either fallen into a delusion or is being led astray by the devil."

Dürer's trust in Luther was not shaken by these passing troubles ; he patiently awaited the solution of difficulties which were the inevitable result of such a period of evolution. He was in this sense a typical son of Nürnberg ; in no other city were the new doctrines adopted so gradually by the people without display of unreasoning iconoclasm.

The inscriptions at the foot of the panels warn "all secular rulers to be wary in these dangerous times, that they do not accept the blandishments of men for the Word of God, for God will not have anything taken from, or added to, his Holy Word. Hear therefore these four excellent men, Peter, John, Paul, and Mark, and listen to their warnings." Then follow quotations from the Gospels and Epistles, which warn men against false

prophets, against antichrist, and against those who despise goodness and make long prayers.

Dürer's panels were placed in the Town Hall of his native city, where they remained for a little more than a century. In 1627 the Council found themselves obliged to yield to the very urgent requests of Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and sold him the pictures. The city had to put up with copies of the originals, to which the old inscriptions, which Maximilian, a Roman Catholic, returned to them, were subsequently attached. These copies are still at Nürnberg; the original pictures, the last large paintings Dürer executed, are in the Royal Pinakothek at Munich.

The left-hand panel represents St. John the Evangelist standing by St. Peter. St. John holds an open book with clasps; on the first page we see these words: "In the beginning was the Word." St. John's robe is red lined with yellow; the head is refined, with delicate features and lightly curling hair. St. Peter gazes eagerly into the book, holding a key in his hand; his head shows us a vigorous, decided type of man with full beard and moustache.

On the second panel we have St. Paul and St. Mark. The dominant figure is St. Paul,

whose red and white draperies fall grandly from the imposing figure. He holds a great sword and a closed book. The finely formed nose, the keen eyes and energy of pose well indicate the temperament of the militant apostle. St. Mark holds a scroll; he gazes steadily at St. Paul.

Dürer's last portrait on wood was probably executed about 1525; it is a likeness of his intimate friend Eoban Hesse, Professor of Poetry at Melanchthon's High School at Nürnberg. We have also a silver-point drawing of the poet dated 1526, with the monogram, in the Print Room of the British Museum.

Another interesting portrait of this period in the British Museum is a drawing in silver-point on prepared green paper of the only Englishman probably ever drawn by Dürer. It is dated 1523, with the monogram. Written across the top of the paper is "hinrich Morley aus Engellandt, 1523" (Henry Morley from England). This drawing represents Henry Parker, Lord Morley, who came to Nürnberg during the Imperial Diet of 1522-1523, as special envoy of King Henry VIII. to invest the Archduke Ferdinand with the Order of the Garter. Under a flat hat with a jewelled badge we see a handsome, clean-shaven face.

A fur-lined cloak with a deep collar is turned out over rich brocaded sleeves and vest. The Order of the Garter hangs round his neck ; King Henry's Ambassador is a fine, dashing-looking man.

Dürer has put some very excellent work into coats-of-arms and book-plates, with which he seems to have supplied his friends. Wilibald Pirkheimer, Lazarus Spengler (the Town Secretary), Johannes Tscherte (the Imperial Architect), all used book-plates, drawn by his ready hand, for the large folios in their libraries. Two other fine examples are those of Hektor Pomer, Provost of St. Lorenz ; of Melchior Pfinzing, Provost of St. Sebald, Court Poet to Kaiser Maximilian. Another fine example of these drawings is the large book-plate or coat-of-arms he designed for the city of Nürnberg. The two escutcheons of the city are supported by draped angels. Over them is the escutcheon of the empire, the double-headed eagle, crowned with the Imperial diadem. At the extreme top of the plate are figures of Justice and Abundance and the inscription "Sancta Justitia," 1521.

Dürer also drew many book illustrations for his friends, especially for Pirkheimer and for Johannes Stabius' astronomical works. A

rough pencil sketch of Dürer's own coat-of-arms is in the Print Room of the British Museum.

During the last two years of Dürer's life there is little record of his once busy pencil or brush. His attention is now devoted to his favourite study of the proportion of the human figure and other scientific, artistic problems. His most important books are *The Art of Measurement*, which he dedicated to Pirkheimer, "to my Gracious Lord and Friend"; a *Treatise on the Fortification of Towns, Castles, and Places*, with many illustrations, is dedicated to King Ferdinand of Hungary and Bohemia, of whom he says, "I feel bound to serve by reason of the benefits and favours I received from his late grandfather, Kaiser Maximilian."

The title-page of a treatise on Proportion reads thus: "Herein are comprised four books on human proportions, composed and printed by Albrecht Dürer of Nürnberg, for the use of all those who love this art. MDXXVIII." The whole of this work was not published at the time of Dürer's death. The remaining books, edited by his friends, were published by Agnes Dürer and printed by his old friend and most able woodcutter Hieronymus Andrea.

A portrait of Andrea's wife, drawn in charcoal, dated 1525, with the monogram, is in the Print Room, British Museum. It has an inscription : " Fronica Formschneiderin " (Veronica, Wood-engraver's wife).

The last years of Dürer's life were clouded by a distressing fever or consumption, from which he seems to have suffered intermittently since his winter journey in Zetland to inspect the great whale, when he contracted a severe chill and fever. Towards the close of his Journal in the Netherlands we find many notices of sums spent either at the apothecary's or for doctor's advice. This is no doubt the great reason that Dürer's studies at this period took up the chief part of his time, for although his mind was doubtless "still full of forms," the energy to create them must have been sapped by continual illness.

Dürer's last great work, "The Four Apostles," has well been styled his Reformation picture, in which he glorifies the power of the Word and boldly avows his adherence to the doctrines of the Reformers, depicting the Apostles of Christ as the strong, impetuous, or dreamy men drawn in the Gospels, leaving the mediæval conception entirely on one side.

Dürer's continued illness must have caused much uneasiness to Frau Agnes as well as to his devoted circle of friends, but his death evidently came as a very sudden shock to all, no one but his wife having probably been with him in his last moments.

Albrecht Dürer died in Holy Week, April 6th, 1528, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, as deeply regretted by his numerous friends in Nürnberg as well as in far-away cities. He was laid to rest in the family vault of the Frey family in St. John's burial-ground, the most ancient in Nürnberg. On the large flat tombstone was placed a brass tablet bearing the classical inscription composed by his friend Pirkheimer: "ME. AL. DV. QVICQVID. ALBERTI DVRERI. MORTALE FVIT, SVB HOC CONDITVR TVMLO. EMIGRAVIT VIII. IDS. APRILIS. MDXXVIII." (To the memory of Albrecht Dürer. Under this stone lies all that is mortal of Albrecht Dürer. He departed April 6th, 1528.)

The news of his sudden death caused profound sorrow far and near, the loss of the great and beloved master filled all hearts with sorrow, the early death of their adored friend left a gap hard to be filled among the circle of Nürnberg friends.

Wilibald Pirkheimer, in his Latin elegy to

his friend, laments "the faithful one" in touching language, calling him "the best half of his soul, in whom I could safely confide," reproaches him with leaving his sorrowing friend so suddenly, "with such rapid steps, never again to return, nor did I ever touch thy dear head, or grasp thine hand again."

Nürnberg's sorrow was no doubt well expressed by this warm-hearted man, while from far and near came touching tribute to the gentle painter's genius and virtues. Men like Melanchthon, Luther, Camerarius, and Eoban Hesse regret the loss of their dear and respected friend. Melanchthon, on receiving the sad tidings of his death, wrote to Camerarius: "It grieves me to see Germany deprived of such an artist, and such a man." The poet Eoban Hesse composed a poem on Dürer's funeral, the "Epicedium in funere Alberti Düeri"; sending a copy of this to Johannes Lang, the preacher of Erfurt, he tells him "that all Nürnberg citizens are lamenting the death of their incomparable and beloved artist." Luther calls him "the best of men," and laments his death, but adds, "he may be esteemed happy to have been taken away in good time from these troublesome days, which may yet become worse, for he was worthy

to see nothing but the best of this world, and not to be troubled with its worst phases."

From the pen of Erasmus of Rotterdam, the so-called "apostle of common sense and natural religion," we have the following appreciation: "Apelles painted with but few colours, but still he painted. But Dürer, although to be admired on other points, what has he not accomplished for our vision, with simple lines, black and white only, light and shade, distance and foreground?"

These magnificent tributes from the master minds of his own day point to the versatile talents of the man who could charm so many and so varied spirits.

No more beautiful elegy for Albrecht Dürer can be found than the dedication in the Latin edition of Dürer's *Theory of Proportion*, 1532, by Joachim Camerarius, first Rector of the Melanchthon High School in Nürnberg, which runs: "Nature had endowed him with a body of beautiful and symmetrical proportions, that harmonised well with the beautiful soul that dwelt within. No more beautiful thing could be imagined than his hand, while the beauty of his voice and manner of speaking charmed his listeners and made them wish he would never cease. . . . His noble mind was attuned

to all the virtues, impelling him towards a noble rule of life, that justly earned for him the reputation of being one of the best of men. . . . But before all other things he was a painter, therefore he devoted himself unceasingly to this art, always striving to know and study the works of celebrated artists. . . . When his handiwork had touched its zenith, you could distinctly trace the lofty spirit that imparted grandeur to all it undertook. Great as were Albrecht's attainments, his noble soul was ever striving to advance still higher. The only thing that might be called a fault in this great man was his tendency to underrate his own powers. Nothing unworthy, nothing vulgar occurs in his works, which were the reflexion of the exquisite modesty of his thoughts. The great artist was more than worthy of his reputation."



THE DÜRER COAT OF ARMS

1523

1523

Portrait of a Young Man . . .	1507	Hampton Court
Martyrdom of Ten Thousand Persian Christians . . .	1508	I. Gallery, Vienna.
The Heller Altar-piece, or Assumption of the Virgin . . .	1508	Copy, Frankfort.
The Holzschuher Dead Christ . . .	1508	St. Moriz, Nürnberg.
The Landauer Altar-piece, or Adoration of the Trinity . . .	1511	I. Gallery, Vienna.
Virgin with the Pear . . .	1512	„ „
Karl der Grosse (portrait) . . .	1512	Nürnberg.
Kaiser Sigismund . . .	1512	„
Michael Wolgemut (portrait) . . .	1516	Munich.
Virgin and Child with pink . . .	1516	Augsburg.
Lucretia . . .	1518	Munich.
Kaiser Maximilian (portrait) . . .	1519	Vienna.
Hans Imhoff (portrait) . . .	1521	Madrid.
Bernard van Orley . . .	1521	Dresden.
Jakob Muffel . . .	1526	Berlin.
Heironymus Holzschuher . . .	—	„
Johannes Kleeberger . . .	—	Vienna.
Virgin with the Apple . . .	—	Uffizi, Florence.
Friederich der Weise (portrait in tempera) . . .	—	Museum, Berlin.
The Apostles St. John and St. Peter (panel) . . .	1526	Pinakothek, Munich.
The Apostles St. Mark and St. Paul (panel) . . .	—	„ „

ENGRAVINGS

Coat-of-arms, Death and the Woman . . .	1503
Adam and Eve, plain background . . .	1504
Ditto, with landscape and figures . . .	1504
Coat-of-arms, Lion and Cock . . .	? 1504
The Nativity . . .	1504

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The Prodigal Son (early)	? 1504
The Virgin with the Monkey (early)	? 1504
The Family of the Satyr	1505
The Great White Horse	1505
The Little Horse	1505
The St. George	1508
The St. Eustachius	? 1508
St. Jerome with the Willow Tree	1512
Knight, Death, and the Devil	1513
The Melancholia	1514
St. Jerome in his Study	1514
Two Angels with Sudarium	1513
The Virgin as Queen of Heaven	1514
The Virgin by the Wall	1514
St. Paul	1514
St. Thomas	1514
Peasant with Bagpipes	1514
The Three Peasants	? 1515
The Landsknecht mit Fahne	? 1516
Virgin and Child with two Angels	1518
The Great Cardinal, Cardinal-Archbishop of Mainz (portrait)	1519
The Little Cardinal, Cardinal-Archbishop of Mainz (portrait)	1523
St. Anthony	1519
Wilibald Pirkheimer (portrait)	1521
Kurfürst Friederich der Weise (portrait)	1524
Melanchthon, Philip (portrait)	1526
Erasmus von Rotterdam (portrait)	1526

The Copper Passion, 1508-1512.

The Man of Sorrows	1509
The Betrayal	1508
Christ on the Mount of Olives	1508

The Crucifixion	1511
The Ecce Homo	1512
Christ before Pilate	1512
Christ before the High Priest	1512
Christ Scourged	1512
Christ Mocked by the Jews	1512
The Descent into Hell	1512
The Entombment	1512
The Resurrection	1512

The Knight and Lady.

Anyone or Sea-Rider.

The Great Hercules.

WOOD-ENGRAVINGS

The Apocalypse, a series of fifteen cuts and title-page,
1498-1511.

1. The Martyrdom of St. John.
2. St. John before the Throne of God.
3. The Twenty-four Elders before the Throne.
4. The "Four Riders."
5. The Giving of White Robes to the Martyrs.
6. The Four Angels of the Winds.
7. The Four Angels of the Euphrates.
8. The Elect with Palm Branches.
9. The Angel clothed with a Cloud.
10. The Woman clothed with the Sun.
11. War in Heaven between St. Michael and the Dragon.
12. The Worshipping of the Dragon.
13. The Apotheosis of the Lamb.
14. The Babylonian Woman.
15. The Binding of Satan for a thousand years.

Title-page : The Virgin appearing to St. John.

CHIEF WORKS

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The Life of the Virgin, 1504-1510.

1. The Rejection of Joachim's Offering.
2. The Angel appearing to Joachim.
3. Joachim meets Anna at the Golden Gate.
4. The Birth of the Virgin.
5. The Presentation of the Virgin.
6. The Betrothal of the Virgin.
7. The Annunciation.
8. The Visitation.
9. The Nativity.
10. The Adoration of the Magi.
11. The Circumcision of Christ.
12. The Purification.
13. The Flight into Egypt.
14. The Repose in Egypt.
15. Christ disputing with the Doctors.
16. Christ taking leave of the Virgin.
17. The Death of the Virgin (1510).
18. The Assumption of the Virgin (1510).
19. The Virgin and Child adored by Angels and Saints.
Title-page : The Virgin on the Crescent Moon.

The Great Passion, 1507-1512.

1. The Last Supper.
2. Christ on the Mount of Olives.
3. The Betrayal.
4. The Scourging.
5. Christ mocked by the Jews.
6. Christ bearing the Cross.
7. The Crucifixion.
8. The Descent into Hell.
9. The Lamentation.
10. The Entombment.
11. The Resurrection.
Title-page : The Man of Sorrows.

The Little Passion.

1. Adam and Eve in Paradise.
2. The Expulsion from Paradise.
3. The Annunciation.
4. The Nativity.
5. The Entry into Jerusalem.
6. Christ driving out the Money-changers.
7. Christ taking leave of his Mother.
8. The Last Supper.
9. The Washing of Feet.
10. The Mount of Olives.
11. The Betrayal.
12. Christ before Annas.
13. Christ before Caiaphas.
14. Christ Mocked.
15. Christ before Pilate.
16. Christ before Herod.
17. The Scourging.
18. Christ Crowned with Thorns.
19. Christ presented to the people.
20. Pilate washing his hands.
21. Christ bearing the Cross.
22. St. Veronica with Sudarium.
23. Christ Nailed to the Cross.
24. The Crucifixion.
25. The Descent into Hell.
26. The Descent from the Cross.
27. The Lamentation.
28. The Entombment.
29. The Resurrection.
30. Christ in Glory appears to the Virgin.
31. Christ as the Gardener.
32. Christ at Emmaus.

33. Christ appears to St. Thomas.
34. The Ascension.
35. The Descent of the Holy Ghost.
36. The Last Judgment.

Title-page : The Man of Sorrows.

<i>The Triumphal Arch</i> of Kaiser Maximilian, composed of ninety-two blocks . . .	1512-15
<i>The Triumphal Procession</i> of Maximilian, composed of eight blocks . . .	1522
Portraits of Kaiser Maximilian . . .	1519
The Holy Trinity . . .	1511
The Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory . . .	1511
The Holy Family and Kinsfolk . . .	1511
Virgin and Child adored by Angels . . .	1518
Portrait of Ulrich Varnbühler . . .	1522
„ Eoban Hesse, Poet . . .	1526
Book-plates of W. Pirkheimer . . .	—
„ Hektor Pomer . . .	—
Escutcheon of Nürnberg . . .	—
„ Michael Behaim . . .	1511
„ Stabius . . .	1515
„ Tscherte . . .	1520
„ Dürer . . .	1511
St. Jerome in his Cell . . .	1511
St. Christopher . . .	1511
St. Jerome in the Cave . . .	1514
Holy Family with the Hares . . .	—

CHIEF DRAWINGS

<i>Self-portrait</i> as boy, aged 13 (silver-point drawing), dated 1484	.	Albertina, Vienna.
<i>The Green Passion</i> (series of twelve drawings on green paper), 1504	„ „	
The Betrayal.		
Christ before Herod.		
Christ before Caiaphas.		
The Flagellation.		
The Crown of Thorns.		
The Ecce Homo.		
Christ bearing the Cross.		
The Nailing to the Cross.		
The Crucifixion.		
The Descent from the Cross.		
The Entombment.		
The Resurrection.		
<i>Portrait of Agnes Dürerin</i>	„ „	
<i>Kaiser Maximilian</i> , “auf der Pfalz” (charcoal drawing), 1518	„ „	
<i>Study of an Old Man</i> , Antwerp, 1521 (drawn in sepia)	„ „	
<i>Adoration of the Magi</i> , 1524 (pen-and-ink drawing)	„ „	
<i>The Virgin and St. Anne</i> , 1512 (pen-and-ink drawing)	„ „	
<i>Kaiser Max's Triumphal Chariot</i> , 1521 (pen-and-ink drawing)	„ „	

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<i>Portrait of an Unknown Man</i> (charcoal drawing)	Albertina, Vienna.
<i>Study of hands</i> for an apostle, 1508 (drawn in sepia)	" "
<i>Study for head of Christ</i> (for Christ among the Doctors)	" "
<i>Andreas Dürer</i> , 1514	" "
<i>Michael Wolgemut</i> , 1516	" "
<i>View of "Insprug,"</i> ? 1493 (water-colour drawing)	" "
<i>Study of a Negress</i> , "Katharina," (done at Antwerp 1521)	Uffizi, Florence.
<i>Christ bearing the Cross</i> (drawing of 1520)	" "
<i>The Entombment</i>	" "
<i>The Descent from the Cross</i> (drawings of 1521)	" "
<i>Dürer's Mother</i> (charcoal study of 1514)	} Print Room, Berlin Museum.
<i>Agnes Dürerin</i> , 1521 (done on their journey)	
<i>Portrait of an Unknown Man</i> (in silver-point)	" "
<i>Head of Apostle</i>	" "
<i>Study of drapery for Apostle</i>	" "
<i>Feet of Kneeling Apostle</i> (drawn in sepia)	" "
<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned</i> , 1485 (early pen-and-ink drawing)	" "
<i>The Drahtziehmühle</i> (water-colour drawing).	" "
The "Fenediger Klausen" (water-colour drawing)	Louvre, Paris.



The "Welsch Schloss" (water-colour drawing)	.	.	.	Hausman Coll.
View of Trient	.	.	.	Bremen.
Portrait of Agnes Dürerin	.	.	.	"
<i>The Crucifixion</i> (on tinted paper)	.	.	.	Museum, Basle.
<i>Virgin and Holy Child with Cherubs,</i> 1519	.	.	.	" "
Pen-and-ink drawing, with colour washes	.	.	.	" "
<i>Study of Apes dancing,</i> 1523	.	.	.	" "
<i>Das Weiherhaus,</i> ? 1497 (water-colour drawing)	.	.	.	} Print Room, British Museum.
<i>The Prodigal Son,</i> ? 1498 (pen-and-ink drawing)	.	.	.	
<i>Girl with Falcon,</i> with inscription, 1486 (about)	.	.	.	" "
<i>Virgin and Child,</i> 1503 (pen-and-ink drawing)	.	.	.	" "
<i>Head of Christ</i> crowned with thorns 1503 (large charcoal drawing)	.	.	.	" "
<i>Apollo and Daphne</i> (pen-and-ink drawing)	.	.	.	" "
<i>Eve</i> (pen-and-ink drawing)	.	.	.	" "
<i>The Fall of the Angels,</i> 1509 (pen-and-ink drawing)	.	.	.	" "
<i>Face of Precipice</i> (study in body colours)	.	.	.	" "
<i>The Rhinoceros,</i> 1515 (pen-and-ink drawing)	.	.	.	" "
<i>Studies of Child's Head,</i> 1514 (pen-and-ink drawing)	.	.	.	" "
<i>Two Angels bearing a Gothic Crown</i>	.	.	.	" "
<i>Fronica Formschneiderin,</i> 1525	.	.	.	" "

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<i>Head of Child</i> thrown back (char- coal drawing)	} Print Room, British Museum.
<i>Eobanius Hesse, Poet</i> , 1526 (silver- point)	
<i>Drawing of a Mastiff</i> (silver-point, leaf of Dürer's sketch-book)	" "
<i>Bernard van Orley</i> , 1521 (chalk drawing).	" "
<i>Head and Shoulders of a Walrus</i> , 1521 (water-colour drawing)	" "
<i>Henry Parker, Lord Morley</i> , 1523 (silver-point)	" "
<i>Pupilla Augusta</i> (drawing for Celtes' book)	Windsor.
<i>The Prayer-book of Maximilian</i> , 1515 (pen-and-ink drawings on the margins of forty-five vellum leaves)	} Original copy, Royal Library, Munich; another copy at Vienna.

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